THE PEACE CONFERENCE DAY BY DAY

A PRESIDENTIAL PILGRIMAGE LEADING TO THE DISCOVERY OF EUROPE

CHARLES T. THOMPSON

T. L. Blossom

D. F. Aug 1st 1921

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AMERICAN COMMISSION
TO NEGOTIATE PEACE

PARIS, 23 June, 1919.

My dear Mr. Thompson:-

I learn with real regret that you are leaving shortly for the United States.

Almost exactly eight months ago today I arrived in France to confer with the representatives of the Allies respecting Armistice Terms to be offered Germany. Immediately upon my arrival you called on me and since that time you have, without interruption, acted as a Special Correspondent of the Associated Press in reporting the proceedings of the Peace Conference. I have had the opportunity of reading your dispatches after they have been printed in the American papers, and it is my firm conviction that these dispatches have represented accurately the situation as it changed from time to time. You have been altogether fair, and at the same time entirely sympathetic to the aims of the representatives of the United States at the Conference. You have indeed, my dear Mr. Thompson, splendidly maintained the traditions of the great organization with which you are associated; besides, it has been a great pleasure to me personally to have been given the opportunity to be associated with you.

Faithfully yours,

Charles T. Thompson, Esq.,
Associated Press,
PARIS.

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BY

CHARLES T. THOMPSON

WITH AN INTRODUCTORY LETTER BY

COLONEL E. M. HOUSE

NEW YORK

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THE PEACE CONFERENCE DAY BY DAY

CHAPTER I

LANDING OF THE PILGRIMS

A STRANGE animation has suddenly taken possession of this quaint old Breton city of Brest on this memorable Friday, December 13, 1918. Vast crowds of fisher-folk and peasantry, in holiday attire with starched Brittany caps and laces, pack the streets and public places. The whole city is ablaze with bunting. School children in groups sing along the street. Soldiers, sailors and marines march and counter-march and line the quays. Special trains are arriving from Paris bringing the Chiefs of State, Cabinet Ministers, field marshals, generals, admirals. Ambassadors, statesmen and the leaders of parties are assembling. All of them, the mighty and the lowly, are moving toward the ocean front with their eyes straining off to seaward.

For at noon today the ancient city is to have its most momentous experience since Julius Cæsar arrived here, 55 years before the birth of Christ, on his way to add Britain to the Roman Empire. After twenty centuries, another ruler is coming; not from Rome but from the West, from the New World across the sea, that young and mighty na-

tion, America. This is Wilson Day in Brest, for at noon Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States, is to land, and for the first time an American president is to set his foot on the soil of Europe. There is special significance in his coming now, for the world war has just closed, largely through his efforts, and the Versailles Congress is about to reëstablish peace and remold Europe.

No wonder this ancient city is stirred to its very depths, and all Europe and the world outside has its eyes riveted on what is passing here. This is why I have come to this remote outpost on the Atlantic, to see the opening scene in this presidential pilgrimage and then to follow it, step by step, as the great war merges into the great peace and America enters upon the reconstruction of Europe.

I went to the water front early in the day to see if a sunlit harbor was to greet the new arrival. But it was a day of gloom and darkness, with heavy clouds shutting out all sun and sky. The torrential downpour of the night had abated, however, and the gale had fallen to a breeze blowing in from the sea. The mists which had veiled the harbor for several days had now blown away, and the splendid panorama of the roadstead stood out plainly. The outer strait leading to the harbor was clearly marked with its towering black rocks, where the German submarines used to lurk; and across the strait rose tier on tier of land batteries capped on the summit by the lighthouse. Over the entrance to the harbor hovered a fleet of naval hydroplanes on the lookout for the approaching presidential fleet. A big dirigible was just heading out to sea to give the first welcome.

The scene within the harbor was one of gay animation

as the fleets of warships and merchant craft broke out their colors and dressed ship with long lines of streamers spanning the topmasts from stem to stern. A group of French cruisers in their war paint swung at anchorage, with a score of French destroyers. Near them loomed the big liner *La France,* used as a hospital ship, but now about to return to trans-Atlantic service. American destroyers, naval yachts and small craft darted about the harbor, and further off lay the great flotilla of merchant ships, transports, freighters, and quaint Breton fishing craft. Two American freighters were still unloading army supplies, and an American transport was preparing to take American troops homeward. It was a stirring scene afloat, and one which would have glowed with color by a single touch of sunlight.

The scene ashore was equally full of animation as vast throngs of Breton peasantry in their picturesque headgear packed the streets and massed along the quays and terraces overlooking the harbor. Early in the day French and American soldiers and sailors lined the streets and took position along the Cours Dajot where the President was to pass. The whole city was a mass of bunting, with the Place President Wilson hung with streamers and mottoes, and the presidential route lined with Venetian masts, flags and transparencies. An army of laborers cleared the mud from the presidential route and replaced the wind-torn and bedraggled decorations.

* * *

President Wilson arrived in the harbor of Brest at noon, amid deafening salvos of artillery ashore and afloat, and a tumultuous demonstration of the vast multitude massed

along the quays and terraces. It was the culmination of the imposing naval spectacle which began as the presidential fleet rounded the outer capes, then passed the entrance forts and moved majestically into the harbor, where the steamer *George Washington*, bearing the President, anchored at the head of the long double column of American dreadnaughts, destroyers, and the French cruiser squadron.

The presidential fleet had first been sighted at 11.30, fifteen miles off shore. The sea was calm and the fleet moved under brightening skies. It was an hour later that the fleet was signalled at the entrance of the harbor, and a cloud of black smoke in the offing told that the presidential party was near.

Ahead came a single destroyer, piloting the way, and close behind was the huge bulk of the superdreadnaughts, *Pennsylvania* and *Wyoming*, flying the flags of Admirals Mayo and Sims. Just back of them moved the *George Washington* bearing the President, flanked either side by the dreadnaughts *Arkansas, Utah, Florida, Nevada, Oklahoma, New York, Texas*, and *Arizona*, the French cruiser fleet and a great flotilla of destroyers.

The entrance to the harbor is a narrow strait, less than a mile wide, with ten forts on the towering cliffs at either side. Through this avenue the imposing pageant moved, with each fort belching its cannonade and the ten battleships answering gun for gun. Nearing the inner harbor the land batteries and assembled warcraft took up the thunderous cannonade, while the quays and hills of the old Breton city rang with cheers from the enthusiastic multitude. At the same time all the warcraft, merchantmen and transports dressed ship and manned their yards, while

the strains of the American anthem floated over the water mingling with the roar of guns and the cheers of vast crowds.

The President viewed this moving scene from the bridge of the *Washington*, where he could be seen waving a reply as each fresh tribute of enthusiasm echoed over the water. The *Washington* came to anchor a mile off shore, as she has too much draft to come to the docks, where the battleships took position in double file on either side. Soon after, the French ministers, M. Pichon, of Foreign Affairs, and M. Leygues, of the Navy, boarded the *Washington* to offer the first greetings of France, while an American party including General Pershing, General Bliss, Colonel House, Ambassador Sharp and Admiral Benson also went aboard.

* * *

It was just 3 o'clock this afternoon when President Wilson set foot on the soil of Europe, amid such a demonstration of popular enthusiasm and national sympathy as has rarely been accorded to a visiting ruler. The landing of the President was not only a grandiose spectacle with the setting of a colossal naval pageant, but it marked the first step on this eventful pilgrimage of an American president among the statesmen and affairs of Europe. Vast crowds watched the debarkment, and the fleets of allied warships roared their salutes as the last stage of the ocean journey was accomplished. The President stood on the deck of the harbor boat as it moved slowly toward the quay, while Ambassador Jusserand pointed out the historic monuments rising on this Breton coast—the crumbling walls of the castle, built by Julius Cæsar and rebuilt by Napoleon. The President gazed intently—his first glimpse of France.

As the boat touched the pier the strains of the "Star-Spangled Banner" mingled with the cheers of the multitude. Mrs. Wilson came up the gangplank with General Pershing. She carried a large bouquet, and as she passed the army nurses gave her an American flag which she bore proudly. The President was the last to come ashore amid a perfect whirlwind of cheers. His face was beaming, and, silk hat in hand, he bowed acknowledgment at either side as the waves of cheering bore in on him.

M. Pichon conducted the President to the handsome pavilion erected for his reception, the interior richly hung with red silk, and here the formal salutations were pronounced. That of the Mayor of Brest had the first significant note, for he represents the proletariat, the people, on whom Mr. Wilson is counting so much in the struggle at the peace table. The Mayor spoke in French, but the President appeared to follow and understand, smiling and bowing an acknowledgment as he heard himself greeted as the apostle of Liberty come to relieve the tortured peoples of Europe from their agony.

"Monsieur le President," said the Mayor, "I feel the keenest emotion in bringing to you the cordial welcome of the population of Brest. It is now some time since our city manifested its admiration of your great work by giving the name of President Wilson to one of its most beautiful public squares, and we have awaited with impatience the brief but solemn moment when we should be permitted to express personally our feeling of profound sympathy.

"The ship which brings you into this harbor is itself symbolic. Just as George Washington, champion of your

liberty, once led the legions of your peaceful citizens who had become soldiers in the great cause of the independence of peoples, so under the same auspices today you bring to the tortured peoples of Europe the comfort of your powerful voice in the agonizing debates which will heal our strife.

"Monsieur le President, on this soil of Brittany, our hearts are one in hailing you as a messenger of Justice and Peace. Tomorrow the whole French people will acclaim you and the peoples will thrill as one with enthusiasm for the eminent statesman who defends their aspirations for Justice and Liberty.

"The old city of Brest is eager for the honor of saluting you. It will remember this great day with pride. In order that our descendants may ever cherish the memory of this occasion, the Municipal Council of Brest has charged me to deliver to you this address, and the record of your arrival is to be inscribed in the city archives as a memorial for all ages. It attests our joy in being able to do homage to the illustrious representative of Democracy who presides over the great Republic of the United States."

It was a striking picture as the President stood there surrounded by ministers of state, diplomats, generals and admirals, most of them in uniforms and ribbons. His face looked grave as he heard himself addressed as the apostle of justice come to still the quarrels of Europe. His simple attire of an American gentleman, with black sack suit and top coat, was in marked contrast with the gorgeous costumes about him. He replied simply and feelingly to the greeting, and as this was his first word to

Europe, it is worth recording. Addressing the Mayor, he said:

"Your generous greeting is very delightful. I feel honored that the city of Brest should have granted me the distinction of being associated with it. Since the United States entered the war, we have felt in some peculiar way identified with Brest. It has attracted to itself some of the intimate interest and affection we feel for our own home cities. Its hospitality to our men, its welcome to those who came to fight alongside of France in the common cause against an outlaw, have given it a peculiar association with our own people and our own action in the great struggle.

"That the citizens and the Municipal Council of Brest should have been so thoughtful of my pleasure and should have honored me as they have, will remain with me as one of the most acceptable and pleasurable memories of my errand. It is delightful for me to realize that I have come to join my counsel with that of your own public men in bringing about a peace settlement which shall be consistent alike with the ideals of France and the ideals of the United States.

"Will you not be kind enough to convey to your colleagues of the Municipal Council my very warm appreciation of their generous resolutions, along with my most cordial greetings on my own behalf and on behalf of the great people whom I represent, and to whom the citizens of Brest have offered such hospitable service."

* * *

Now came the drive through the cheering throngs and the first contact with the French populace. Every foot of

the way was lined with soldiers, American and French, and back of them the dense throngs of delirious people, cheering, throwing flowers, waving flags and handkerchiefs, and joining in one long-continued frenzied ovation. It was genuine and spontaneous, very clearly, and right from the heart of these Breton peasants. As the President passed he saw the evidences of war at every hand—our men in khaki, and vast stores of war supplies recently being rushed to the American battle front—barbed wire, gun caissons, stacks of munitions and arms and field pieces.

The President drove straight to the railway station, and at four o'clock, within an hour of his coming ashore, he was off for Paris on his special train. He would arrive at the capital in the natural course before daylight, but the protocol has been alive to this and will see that the train runs slowly, so that the actual arrival will occur at ten in the morning when the crowds are out and there is full scope for the éclat which greets the American President as the guest of the French nation.

* * *

After this strenuous first day with the President, I joined my two English associates, X and Y, who had come here to see what an American President is really like, and more particularly to take the measure of his purposes so as to form some idea of what he is likely to accomplish. The position and influence of both of them, in London and Paris, is such as to give their views a certain degree of authority, as reflecting the sentiment in the highest British quarters.

As X had recently seen Lloyd George and Clemenceau, with whom he is on terms of personal intimacy, he spoke

informedly when he said that the landing of the President in Europe ushered in a battle royal. For such a contest, he made plain, the British Prime Minister and the French Premier had fully considered their course and were prepared for the encounter. They would stand together, with the added voice of the Italian Premier, in speaking for Europe in the tests about to open with this new arrival from America, who had made such a stir with his ideals of political philosophy. They had heard he had a determination of adamant, and once set upon a course was unyielding, even imperious and autocratic; yet on an issue of endurance and insistence they felt they could match him on even terms. For, as X explained, their plans were in substance these:

Lloyd George and Clemenceau are eminently practical men. They are together in having certain very practical ends to accomplish. They are not idealists. But they recognize that Mr. Wilson is chiefly concerned in certain lofty ideals embodied in the Fourteen Points and the scheme of a League of Nations. Very well, why not let the man of ideals accomplish his ideals, and the practical men accomplish the very practical ends they seek? That would be a fair exchange. After all, this is a game of diplomacy on a colossal scale; all games have their stakes; and in this case the stakes are practical ends matched against ideals. There will doubtless be sharp contention at the outset, but in the end the practical side will accept ideals just as far as the ideal side accepts the practical ends Lloyd George and Clemenceau expect to accomplish. It will be give and take: *quid pro quo;* nothing yielded without adequate compensation.

Lloyd George is satisfied, it appears, that he holds the trump card for the final play, for when the time comes he can say:

" You may have observed, my dear Mr. President, that the elections occurring in England are giving me a very strong mandate from my people on the terms of the war settlement. I regret that the American elections just held did not give you the advantage of such a mandate."

There is a strong belief in European diplomacy that this is likely to moderate any unyielding attitude and bring about a spirit of compromise in which ideals and practical ends can both be accomplished. As to what these practical ends are, X places as foremost, from Lloyd George's standpoint, the abandonment of the second of the President's Fourteen Points on the " freedom of the seas," and after that come large indemnities, punishment of the Kaiser, and territorial adjustments in which England is interested at many points of Europe and Asia, and particularly the Middle East and Egypt. As to Clemenceau, the practical ends are indemnity sufficient to pay France's war debts, complete cession of Alsace-Lorraine along with the great coal and iron fields lying east of Verdun, known as the Saare valley, with strong protective frontiers along the Rhine and possibly an independent buffer state in the Palatinate region. For Italy, the practical ends, of course, are Italia Irridenta, Trieste and Trentino, with aspirations which stretch the length of the Adriatic.

* * *

So this clearly forecasts the opening of a stupendous game with the arrival of the President today, with the diplomacy of Europe playing their hands together against

the lone hand of the stranger from America. At the outset it looks like a most unequal game, with all the odds in favor of the veterans in diplomatic cunning and all against the new arrival from across the water. Whether he can win in such a combination, and at what cost; whether he will be tricked in the fast and skillful diplomatic game—these are some of the issues of the Peace Conference lying just ahead, and we are fortunate to view from a point of vantage the plays of such a game as they proceed.

CHAPTER II

PILGRIMS' PROGRESS

THE boom of guns from the fortress of Mount Valerian stirred all Paris at 10 o'clock this morning. They had heard the sound before, when the Gothas came by night and Big Bertha barked by day. But this was no such evil omen, for Paris knew that this was Wilson day, when the guns were to announce the arrival of the American President as the guest of the French nation. And as the guns echoed, the boulevards and avenues filled with dense throngs and Paris *en masse*—eager, joyous, fairly vibrating—sprang forward to greet the national guest. There have been great crowds and great receptions before, but never such as this, say those who have seen all the Czars and Kings come and go. This time there is the vast swell of the people in tumult, greeting the man whom they believe has ended the world war. Mark this well, for popular enthusiasm is to be Wilson's chief card in the huge game now opening.

President Poincaré and Mme. Poincaré were at the Porte Dauphine station to meet the President and escort him through the frantic crowds. As a spectacle, it was magnificently staged. Port Dauphine is at the head of the most magnificent avenue in the world, the Avenue Bois du Boulogne. This leads to the Arc de Triomphe, the most colossal monument in the world. Then comes that other splen-

did avenue, the Champs Élysées; and then the finest esplanade in the world, the Place de la Concorde. This was the setting of artistic beauty, and with it all the panoply of war —soldiers, soldiers, soldiers; aeroplanes whirring above; the huge muzzles of captured cannon from end to end of these avenues, Republican guards, cuirassiers, zouaves, the "blue devils," and the men who fought at Château-Thierry; and then the people, black masses of people, miles of people, in eddies and waves like the billows of some turbulent sea; the people in tumult, thrilled with emotion, mad and delirious, some of them weeping.

* * *

The two presidents grasped each other in a long and cordial handshake. They murmured and seemed to understand each other, though one spoke no French, the other no English, but at such moments there is a language known to all. There were the momentary greetings and introductions: Clemenceau and all the Ministers of State. Then the party turned to the waiting carriages, and the drive began, through these eddying waves of frantic people.

President Wilson and President Poincaré drove ahead in an open landau behind high-stepping black horses. Vive Wilson! Such a roar of voices, so appealing and personal, and such eager faces, a sort of popular contagion of emotion. The President seemed to understand it and take it to himself as a precious tribute. His face was glowing with pleasure; his hat was off; flowers were falling on him, thrown by Alsatian girls in costume; he was bowing this side and that at each fresh outburst, which swelled and swelled as he rode along. No Cæsar ever had a greater triumph.

Back of them rode Mme. Poincaré and Mrs. Wilson; Clemenceau and Ambassador Sharp; Lansing and Pichon, the two foreign ministers; Henry White and General Bliss, two of the peace delegates; General Pershing and M. Jusserand; and many other high officials. Around the Arc de Triomphe the riot of sound and movement was terrific; again at the Rond Point, and at the Grand Palais, and crossing the Alexander bridge, and skirting the Esplanade des Invalides, and then entering the dense acres of humanity packed into the Place de la Concorde, the largest open square in the world. It was the same through the Rue Royale, past the Madelaine, and out the boulevard Malesherbes to the mansion of Prince Murat, on rue Monçeau, which is now the Paris White House.

The President has been deeply moved by the wonderful popular outburst. He has referred to it this afternoon as having a deep meaning. He seems to divine some vital spark passing from the eyes of the people to himself. His nearest friends believe, too, that it will have a profound influence on the highest governmental opinion, for Clemenceau and the rest heard that swelling voice of the people as they never heard it before. And so, at the opening of this game of nations, the French people are behind Wilson—that is being openly declared as the outstanding event of today.

* * *

At noon, the President and Mrs. Wilson were the guests of honor at the state déjeuner given by President and Mme. Poincaré at the Elysée Palace. The guests at table, numbering 200, included all the personalities of the haute monde, with the art and beauty of decoration and environ-

ment of the fine old palace. But the significance of the event was in the toasts exchanged between the two Presidents. It was the first plea from France, and the first reply from America. As toasts they were beautiful, and like the wine they sparkled in the polite and masterly exchange of two great minds in contact on two opposing principles.

President Poincaré's greeting to Wilson was indeed a beautiful tribute: "Paris and France have been eagerly awaiting you," he said. "They acclaim in you the illustrious representative of Democracy whose word and action are inspired by superior thought; the philosopher who likes to draw universal laws from particular events; the eminent statesman who to express the highest political and moral truths, has found formulæ which bear the mark of immortality."

This was the glowing exordium. Then followed the sparkle:

"You yourself shall see, Monsieur le President, the extent of the disaster wrought by a carefully laid-down plan of systematic, savage warfare upon national possessions, upon nature and upon beauty. The French Government will hand you documents, Monsieur le President, in which you will yourself see how the German Command, with astounding cynicism, set forth its programme of pillage and destruction."

And after the sparkle came the first faint gleam of sparks in the clash of intellects, as M. Poincaré concluded:

"Whatever precautions we may take, nobody, alas! can assert that we shall save Humanity forever from further wars."

But Wilson had asserted it, and therein is the first gleam of sparks in the coming battle of wits; and he will say it again, and now.

"From the first, Mr. President," he replied, "the thought of the people of the United States turned toward something more than the mere winning of the war. It turned to the establishment of the eternal principles of right and justice. It realized that merely to win the war was not enough; that it must be won in such a way, and the questions raised by it settled in such a way, as to insure the future peace of the world and lay the foundation for the freedom and happiness of its many peoples and nations."

Here in very polished form is the issue at stake in the game ahead: On one side those who believe, with Poincaré, that nobody, alas! can put an end to wars. And on the other those who believe, with Wilson, that the mere winning of the war was not enough and that the time has come to insure the future peace of the world and put an end to warfare—in other words, a League of Nations to ensure the world against war. The French President has clearly reflected the cynical view of European diplomacy that nobody, alas! can hope to realize such an ideal. There was the clash of an intellectual duel in these toasts, despite the politeness and the beauty of diction which veiled them.

CHAPTER III

A TIGER IN THE PATH: CLEMENCEAU

Dec. 15. The President matched his wit with Clemenceau for the first time this evening. It was their first real meeting, for there had been no opportunity to talk at the Dauphine station or at the Elysée Palace déjeuner. But tonight the old tiger bearded the new-come lion in his den. He went to the Murat palace at six and was alone with the President for an hour. Even the repose of Sunday did not deter the call, which was desired on both sides, to take soundings and see what lies ahead. The President had been to church twice, and then, after a ride in the Bois with Mrs. Wilson he awaited his opening encounter with the tiger.

Clemenceau's sharp tongue has been wagging quite freely about Wilson's idealism, and the President is aware of it. It was Clemenceau who said of the President's Fourteen Points:

"Even the Bon Dieu got along with Ten Commandments."

Clemenceau's prestige has been very high until now, but with the coming of Wilson this prestige may be challenged. The French credit Clemenceau and Foch with winning the war, and Clemenceau is very strong in the Chamber, except with the socialists. But the tremendous popular demonstration to Wilson yesterday has suddenly disclosed that

there are other popular idols besides Clemenceau and Foch, and that the new ideals, the new freedom, and saving the world for democracy, have made a deep appeal to the French masses. The President himself counts on this to win his case, and his advisers are of the same view. One of the American peace delegates said this afternoon:

"That roar of French enthusiasm for the President was the most significant thing that has occurred since we arrived. It will set certain French leaders to thinking, and put them on their guard, for any one who knows the French will understand that those cries for Wilson are a solemn warning to the men who oppose him. That demonstration shows the French people are behind Wilson, and that those who oppose must beware of consequences."

These "consequences" might be serious and are being openly discussed in the American delegation. The President might be called upon to contest Clemenceau's power right here with his own people. What if Clemenceau were confronted with a reverse in the Chamber? The President is very deeply in earnest, and has said that statesmen who resist the will of the people will go down before the wave of popular disapproval. He is so in earnest that General Bliss, another of the American delegates, intimates to his friends that the President may throw over the Peace conference and return to America if French official opposition is carried too far. It is in this surcharged atmosphere that the President's first meeting with Clemenceau occurred tonight.

* * *

The genesis of Clemenceau's attitude toward the President lies in an incident at the meeting of the Interallied

Conference long before the President arrived, when the Armistices with Germany and Austria were framed. This incident is little known, and as it marks a critical turning point in the affairs of the United States with Europe, it is well to set it down in detail:

When Lloyd George, Clemenceau and Colonel House first gathered at Versailles it was soon made evident that the European statesmen had reached the very definite conclusion that, with the war won, the time had now arrived for Europe to regulate the affairs of Europe. They were quite conscious of the part the United States had taken in winning the war, and were in no way disposed to underestimate it. But that end having been accomplished, it was the view of the European statesmen that Europe might well be left to regulate her own affairs, and that the United States might well return to her traditional policy of detachment—detachment is the word they used—detachment from the internal affairs of Europe.

Meantime the armistice with Germany was rapidly taking form. But as it proceeded, the fact was noted by Colonel House that European diplomacy was very carefully avoiding any reference to the President's Fourteen Points, which lay at the very basis of the armistice and the impending discussion of peace. Cable exchange between the Colonel and the President had also brought out clearly that unless the European powers accepted the Fourteen Points, the President would be in a peculiar position over making these points the basis of the proposed peace.

Colonel House therefore determined to bring the question to an issue: were the Fourteen Points accepted or not. Thus interrogated, European diplomacy at first replied in

the abstract. Why should America, the war being over, lay down a code of moral principles for Europe? Why was it not desirable for Europe to regulate the affairs of Europe, much as America regulated the affairs of America, under the Monroe Doctrine. Then, to be more concrete, European diplomacy added that, in reality, these Fourteen Points, while they had served a useful purpose in breaking down the German morale, yet they had never been accepted by the allies at any time or in any formal way.

Against this cool cynicism and avoidance of European diplomacy, Colonel House, after taking counsel by cable, held to his guns on the Fourteen Points. He pointed out that America had acted during the war in the full conviction that the President's utterances on the Fourteen Points were supported and approved by the European allies. A chorus of allied praise had gone up from Europe at the time the points were enunciated. Not a voice of authority in Europe had been raised against them. The allied press in Europe had acclaimed them as the gospel of the allied cause. The American government had with good reason concluded that the President's principles proclaimed to the world were the allies' principles. And yet now, at this late day, it was maintained that the European allies had not formally accepted the American principles.

For a time it looked as if European diplomacy would not yield, and that the Fourteen Points were doomed to oblivion. But Colonel House had a final and a decisive plea, which was presented something like this:

"Gentlemen, it is of course for you to say whether the

American principles as embodied in the President's Fourteen Points are accepted by the allies or not. But if they are not, it is proper I should tell you that I think there will be only one thing remaining for the United States to do. The United States came into the war to uphold certain high ideals, which the President has expressed in these Fourteen Points. Now if you do not share these ideals as expressed in these points, then it seems clear that the only course open to the President will be to lay the entire subject before the American Congress in a message which will state frankly what it was the allies were in fact fighting for, and ask the Congress to say what position the United States government should take."

Colonel House's declaration was phrased with all the gentleness of diplomacy. And yet there was no mistaking the meaning of it. It would indefinitely postpone the German Armistice, which by this time European statesmen were eagerly anxious to conclude. It would, moreover, be an open avowal by the American President to the American Congress and to the world that the United States had been misled by European diplomacy, misled in coming into the war, misled as to the fundamental motives of the war.

This was decisive. There was no wish to delay the armistices, and much less to lay before the world such an ugly scandal between the United States and Europe, involving a strange misunderstanding among those highest in authority as to the real circumstances under which the United States entered the war. And so the Fourteen Points were accepted very reluctantly with but one addition, and one reservation as to the meaning of "freedom of

the seas." All the rest was accepted without reserve. And it was on this acceptance, cabled to the President, that he made known to Germany that her plea for an armistice and peace had been granted.

* * *

This initial clash of European and American diplomacy at Versailles marks the first decisive stage of the Fourteen Points—their acceptance. There will be other stages later in the fluctuation of these points and their gradual rise and fall. But this was their highest stage, when the proud diplomacy of Europe bent the knee, bent it grudgingly and reluctantly, but bent it all the same. In a sense it was a diplomatic triumph of the first order from the standpoint of the President and his personal representative, and highly gratifying to their self-confidence and pride, for they had met and overcome the contention that Europe was to be left alone to regulate the affairs of Europe.

Thus at the very outset the contention over the Fourteen Points had established decisively for the first time that the United States was to have a voice in regulating the affairs of Europe; that the work of territorial delimination and making frontiers for the new Europe was not the affair of Europe alone but that America was to be heard on equal terms. It was a decision of transcendent importance alike to Europe and America, and comparable in a sense with the importance of the Monroe Doctrine, although directly the antithesis of that doctrine which in effect laid down that Europe was not to have a voice in the affairs of America. And at the same time this decision was the most notable defeat for Clemenceau and those who had scoffed at these

Fourteen Points, for now as they bent the knee to America's entry into the political affairs of Europe they saw the derided Fourteen Points established, for the time being at least, as the apotheosis of international virtue.

* * *

I saw Colonel House late this evening as he was going for Clemenceau, to take him to the President.

The Colonel is the intermediary in bringing the meeting about, as he wishes to smooth the rough edges and establish an *entente cordiale* at the outset. The President readily assented to the meeting at this early moment, while the cheers of the Paris multitude—"Vive Wilson!"—were still ringing in Clemenceau's ears as well as his own.

* * *

Dec. 16. When I asked Colonel House how the President's first meeting with Clemenceau went off, he said:

"I never saw two men who seemed to take to each other so thoroughly. It couldn't have gone better. Of course, being a first meeting, it was largely the polite exchange of opening an acquaintance—and a little more, perhaps. For it lasted a full hour and was very satisfactory."

The Colonel added that the President would begin breaking traditions today. He wanted to see Clemenceau again, and would go direct to the War Office to call on him. He had told Clemenceau a good deal—all in English—and would tell him more. This was not quite according to tradition, nor in keeping with the French protocol. But the President was not bound by traditions and protocols, said the Colonel, nor was Clemenceau.

"When I was talking with Clemenceau the other day," said Colonel House, "the question of the protocol came up

as possibly interfering with what was desired. But Clemenceau settled it by the remark: 'Damn the protocol!' "

Another tradition which the President will break is in accepting dinner invitations from foreign ambassadors, the first one being given by Lord Derby, the British ambassador, next Saturday night.

* * *

The President and Mrs. Wilson autoed through the Bois during the morning, going as far as Versailles, where they saw the palace and located the window from which Marie Antoinette escaped. Then on their return, President and Mme. Poincaré called at 2.15 to escort them to the Hotel de Ville, where the President is to receive the title of Citizen of Paris. The ride through the boulevards was another triumphal ovation for Mr. Wilson, with vast cheering crowds and a brilliant array of troops. The dignitaries of Paris were at the reception, M. Mithouard, President of the municipal council, and M. Autard, Prefect of the Seine, making addresses, and the President replying. It was a graceful exchange, but not notable. The President, besides being made a citizen of Paris, received a commemorative gold medal, while Mrs. Wilson was presented a beautiful brooch of an olive branch in diamonds surmounted by six doves in white enamel—emblems of peace, from Paris, the greatest of war sufferers.

* * *

It was after the reception that the President drove to Clemenceau's office and had another long talk with him. Returning to rue Monceau, the President received Marshal Foch. It was his first meeting with the grim old soldier, who, as Commander-in-Chief, had won the war. The

President had had a part in Foch's supreme command, for it was Wilson's insistence which carried through the unity of command. The President was impressed with the simplicity and directness of the Marshal. Foch was not in full uniform with medals, but came in his rather rusty field uniform, much as Grant used to see Lincoln.

The Field Marshal and the President have widely differing views, which are likely to clash before long. The Marshal is the embodiment of French militarism. He has little sentiment, and does not believe in a league of nations. He does not share the view that war can be abolished, and maintains that nations, like individuals, will always have ambitions and inclinations which will lead to differences and possibly warfare. So he believes in preparedness, and just now, since Germany has been brought to terms, he believes in a peace of victory: one which will hold her hard and fast for all time. Militarism is a powerful element in France, as it was in Germany, and with Foch leading the way it will make itself felt throughout the Peace Conference.

CHAPTER IV

WANTED, A PEACE CONGRESS

Dec. 17. This was the day long ago set by Clemenceau and Lloyd George for the opening session of the Interallied Conference, as preliminary to the Peace Congress. It was because this day was set for the opening that President Wilson started from Washington, leaving Congress behind, so as to be here promptly at the appointed hour and not keep the European statesmen waiting. But now he is here and the day and hour of opening have arrived, but there are no European statesmen here and no signs of a peace conference. After all the beating of drums, the American peace delegation is the sole and only one here. The French delegates have not even been appointed.

Lloyd George and Balfour are not here and are not coming for the present, probably not until after the Christmas holidays. This is a great surprise to the President, and a distinct shock to him, for he had certainly expected that the British leaders would do him the honor of coming to see him on his arrival, and of carrying forward the peace conference. But Lloyd George and Balfour have sent their deep regrets at not being able to come just now. They are much engaged in the elections, and are sorry not to see the President or to go on with the peace conference. This situation is distinctly annoying to the President and the American delegation, for after crossing the ocean to attend

the peace conference set for today they find there is no peace conference in sight; and here they are alone, the only delegation, "all dressed up and nowhere to go."

The President's two talks with Clemenceau had gradually disclosed the French Premier's Fabian policy of delay, to which Lloyd George is contributing by his absence. It is a surprise to the President, for even as late as the trip across the ocean on the *George Washington* he was assured by wireless that Lloyd George and Clemenceau would be ready to proceed with the peace congress on December 17th, today. This, the President had calculated, would give him four days after his arrival for official receptions and functions, and that done he would today get down to real business. But instead of that, there is not the slightest sign of a peace conference, and not a delegate the world over except the Americans.

And so, with this enforced delay in the peace business, the President must extemporize a programme. He will make several trips, going to the American front on Christmas day, visiting the devastated regions and perhaps going to Brussels as the guest of King Albert. And more important still, since Lloyd George and Balfour will not come to the President, the President may go to them in London. He does not intend they shall elude him. He proposes to see them and learn their plans. Since Mahomet will not go to the mountain, the mountain will go to Mahomet.

When I saw Colonel House this morning he spoke of the delays of the Conference. I noted that the Colonel has yielded Secretary Lansing, Henry White and General Bliss, the other delegates, the palatial rooms on the first floor of

the Crillon hotel, with their mirrors and tapestries and gilding, but the Colonel has the secluded retreat on the third floor. Here there is a large suite of offices for the confidential secretaries, liaison officers and military attachés, while the Colonel has an inner private room where he sees callers; Admiral Benson, the naval expert; Hoover, the food expert; Davis, the financial expert, and Hurley, the shipping expert, are just down the hall, easy of call. Three blue-jackets in white turbans are at the door to scan the callers as they stand in line at the Colonel's door, for this is the sanctum sanctorum.

Colonel House remains standing much of the time, and seems to do his thinking while standing up. When I spoke of the fatigues he was going through, and the delays of the Conference, he said:

"Yes, they are putting things off, but in that kind of a game they can't tire me out. I've been going through this thing for the last four years. I haven't any nerves. Nothing ruffles me. I would like to see the Conference go ahead, as it ought to go. But if others want delay, well —they can't tire me out, that's sure. I'll stay with them till the end."

The Colonel's placid face bore out his statement. He is not physically a large man, and looks rather frail. But it is having no nerves that gives him the reserve power. His idea of "seeing the thing through" and sticking to the end doubtless reflects the attitude of the President, with whom he confers constantly.

* * *

At 10 P. M. I went to the American Embassy for the reception to the President and Mrs. Wilson. It was a bril-

liant affair, with two Presidents, Poincaré and Wilson; Clemenceau and the entire ministry; three Field Marshals, Foch, Joffre, and Petain; the American Secretary of State and his colleagues of the Peace Delegation, General Pershing, Lord Derby, and many other leading figures of the war.

I noticed Henry White talking French in a retired alcove with Marshal Joffre. The Cardinal Archbishop of Paris, in his brilliant red silk robes, was a striking figure, but the eminent prelate did not seem entirely at home. President Poincaré received him graciously without any evidence of the separation of church and state, and the Brazilian Ambassador bent to his knee and kissed the ring of His Eminence. But after that the Cardinal and his red robe seemed to be apart.

The two French Marshals, Foch and Petain, and the American General, Pershing, made a striking group as they stood together. Foch and Petain are both gray and much older than the young American General, who personified the vigor of the American forces.

President Poincaré was at the head of the receiving line, with Mme. Poincaré; then President Wilson and Mrs. Wilson, and Mrs. Sharp, the ambassador's wife. The Ambassador, in his expansive and genial way, was acting as introducer. President Poincaré wore the broad red sash of the Legion of Honor across his breast. Mme. Poincaré was gowned in rather somber tone, without décolleté, and with no suggestion of being a fashion-hint from Paris. Mrs. Wilson was in dark blue silk with a diamond crescent in her hair.

President Wilson's smile, the one which had become so

popular in Paris, reached forward and enveloped the guests as they approached.

"I am glad to see you again," he said with real cordiality. The "again" was a surprise and disclosed the President's tact, for he had seen me only for a moment in the crowd at Brest.

The President's face had filled out and rounded since I had seen him in Washington, and that lean and hungry appearance had gone. With the background of Field Marshals, Generals and Admirals, Cardinals and diplomatists, in their decorations. robes and ribbons, the President looked a very democratic figure in his plain evening attire. Mrs. Wilson was equally agreeable, and beside the charm of manner there was something wholesome about her suggesting the part she had had in the President's improved appearance.

It was a brilliant scene as the grand salon filled with beautiful women in rich evening gowns sparkling with jewels, and the statesmen and generals of the war gathered in groups, under the blaze of electric chandeliers, amid the forests of palms and flowers, and with the strains of the American army orchestra floating in from the corridor.

Going home at midnight the streets were brightly lighted. autos were hurrying from the theaters, and night Paris was in movement. It was very different from five months ago when Paris was dead and dark at night under the terror of the Gothas.

* * *

Dec. 18. Premier Venizelos saw the President for an hour this morning and presented Greece's case for getting what is left of Turkey when the break-up comes. After

the meeting I saw Venizelos and renewed our acquaintance begun at Athens last year; also Politis, the Greek Foreign Minister. These are the two strong men of modern Greece. Venizelos looks the statesman, big-bodied, big-headed and full-bearded; Politis is less impressive and more the waspy type of statesman. Lloyd George has great admiration for Venizelos' political skill, and one of the legends of the Peace Conference is that Lloyd George planned two months ago to send Venizelos to Washington to sound President Wilson on his attitude toward Europe. Out of this, it seems, the world first learned that President Wilson was coming to Europe. The Greek statesman came here first and saw Colonel House. who was already on the ground.

"I am on my way to Washington," said Venizelos, "as I must see Mr. Wilson on Greek affairs."

"But why go to Washington?" said House.

"To see the President, of course," answered Venizelos.

"I suggest you wait and see him here," remarked the Colonel, knowingly.

This was the first hint, and thus in a few days did the President's plan of coming to Europe first become known.

Venizelos says he is preparing a written memo for the President on Greek aspirations. He says the talk with the President was mainly introductory and in the nature of a pleasant personal exchange. They have much in common. Both are scholars and university professors, for Venizelos was at the head of the university at Crete until the revolution broke out and he led the Cretan students in revolt. It was as a revolutionist that his political career began, and he has been revolutionary ever since.

* * *

The large part which Colonel House is taking as the President's *alter ego*, and the restricted rôle of Secretary Lansing and the others, has attracted general attention as the American plans are perfected. The foreign delegations have quickly grasped this situation, so that envoys and delegates, and even kings and premiers, are either lined up in the House vestibule or are looking forward to their turn for a hearing. This is quite natural, for the Colonel has been here for months making the armistices and acting as the President's personal representative.

Knowing this, the foreigners who are anxious to get the ear of the President go first to Colonel House, and most of the appointments are made this way. High officials from Great Britain, France, Italy, Serbia, Belgium and China were among the callers at the House quarters today. The British have even felt it to be desirable to have a "liaison officer" to keep them in constant touch with the Colonel, and one of the British embassy attachés will occupy this post. These foreign representatives seldom see the Secretary of State, who would be the natural intermediary if it were not for the fact that Colonel House has all the details at his fingers' end, and is beside the President's representative in a somewhat personal capacity.

I learn the President has written two very caustic letters urging that the allies start the work of feeding famished Europe without further delay and shifting. One of these letters declares that this food relief is essential to stem the tide of Bolshevikism sweeping westward from Russia. The letters were called out by the maneuvers, amounting almost to intrigue, to prevent Hoover from going ahead with relief plans, as it was feared in certain quarters that

this relief would be diverted to Germany and Austria.

It was first planned Hoover should be Director General of Relief, for the reason that the United States will supply 85 per cent. of the food for relief. To this plan Lord Reading, the British representative, and M. Clementel, the French, have added many provisos. One of them makes Hoover subject to an Allied committee, in order to place his activities wholly under their control. Another seeks to commit the United States to the Paris Economic Conference, which declared a trade boycott of the Central Empires for five years after the war. Another brings in the large question of controlling the shipment of raw materials to countries of Europe, and thus industrially boycotting a country.

The President has flatly rejected all these amendments; he has written the two sharp letters, and has notified the allies that, pending their action, the United States will go ahead without them in its plan of feeding Europe.

* * *

The President made his first appearance at the Hotel Crillon late this afternoon, inspecting the quarters of the American delegates. He spoke of the friendly attitude the French people had shown toward him. "I saw in the eyes of the crowd," he said, "just that feeling of sympathy that I felt for them, and I was aware it was a reciprocal feeling."

The President also took occasion to declare he had given no approval to the plan to "enforce peace." This is the plan of the society of which Taft is President. Lansing says Taft wrote the President enclosing a copy of the plan of a league to "enforce peace." To this letter the Presi-

dent sent a polite acknowledgment, without committing himself on the plan, as he is said to be keeping an "open mind" on all plans, and to tend toward moral suasion as a means of keeping nations at peace, rather than the "enforcement" of peace, which he believes would involve military force and an international army and fleet.

CHAPTER V

QUIRINAL, VATICAN AND DOWNING STREET

Dec. 19. King Victor Emanuel of Italy, accompanied by his young son and heir, the Prince of Piedmont, arrived today and received a tumultuous public welcome. It was the Wilson reception over again, perhaps not so exuberant, yet with vast throngs of cheering people, showing how French enthusiasm adjusts itself to all occasions under the skillful guidance of the protocol. This was, moreover, a tribute of one Latin nation to another, with the added fact that Italy had broken away from the Triple Alliance and ranged herself with France in the war.

For the moment the Italian King occupies the center of the stage, and President Wilson is temporarily displaced as the popular idol. The King and the President exchanged ceremonious calls. When the King went to the Paris White House, as the Murat Palace is now called, the President made his royal visitor so at home that he stayed an hour. The talk was intimate and the President accepted a pressing invitation from the King to be his guest at the royal palace at Rome.

By a strange coincidence the King's visit followed that of Monsignor Cerretti, ablegate of the Pope, who came to ask the President to call on His Holiness when in Rome. This raises a rather nice question: being the guest of the Quirinal, and calling on the Vatican. But a solution is

planned by which, when the President goes to the Vatican, he will make the start from the American Embassy and not from the Quirinal. This, it seems, will satisfy all the proprieties, as it will save the Vatican from being placed in second place to the Quirinal.

I had a moment's talk with Monsignor Cerretti, renewing our acquaintance begun at Washington when he was with the Papal delegate, and renewed at Rome last spring, where his influence secured me an audience with the Pope. The Monsignor is pleased with his call on the President. He says the Pope gives the President all credit for bringing the war to an end, and is a supporter of the Wilson idea of a League of Nations.

Clemenceau was an early caller on the President, arriving at 10 A. M. and staying an hour. This was the third long visit. The shrewd old fox is most amiable—he seems to be yielding, yielding—and he is not permitting any open breach. He says of Wilson what Lord Castlereagh said of the Czar at the Vienna Congress:

"It is necessary to group him."

* * *

At noon the President went to the French Academy for the impressive ceremony on the admission of Marshal Joffre as one of the Forty Immortals. The hero of the Marne was in the uniform of a Field Marshal, without decoration save the plaquette of the Legion of Honor. He was very pale and walked heavily. He was accompanied by his sponsors, M. Hanotaux and M. de Freycinet. The applause had hardly died away when the entry of the President brought a fresh outburst, all the Academicians rising. The President was accompanied by President

Poincaré, himself an Academician, and M. Bergson, philosopher and savant.

Marshal Joffre's address was marked by the simplicity of a great and modest soldier, and this trait of the famous soldier particularly appealed to President Wilson.

"In calling me to sit among you," said the Marshal, "you have wished to honor our heroic army."

His tribute to the officers and men who fought the battle of the Marne was thoroughly sincere, and to none more than to Marshal Foch, also an Academician, who succeeded Joffre to the supreme command.

"But the heroism of our armies would not have sufficed," added Joffre, "had not the allied nations been drawn into the conflict, and then sustained by the exalted ideas of liberty and justice so nobly presented by the great President Wilson.

"It is with profound emotion that my mind turns to my visit to America last year. It was in a sense the turning-point of the war. That great people across the water were already conscious of their mighty power. They realized that France was nearly overwhelmed by the defection of the Russian army and the bitter trials of the spring of 1917. And it was the love of the American people for France that was to permit us to overcome our trials, and to keep intact French faith and valiance.

"The sweetest hours of my life were those I spent in the midst of those vast American throngs, for it made me realize the depth of sacrifice awakened in that generous people by the bravery of our soldiers and the justice of our cause."

Jean Richepin, in his salutation to Joffre, closed with the stirring words:

"Your name and fame, great soldier, will go down in history through countless years, will inspire song and a new Marsellaise, which will be entitled the 'Song of the Marne,' the 'Song of Joffre.' "

At 8 o'clock tonight the President attended the state dinner at the Elysée Palace given by President Poincaré to King Victor and the Prince of Piedmont. It was a dinner of rulers only, with no lesser personages, no women, and no toasts.

* * *

Dec. 20. Count di Romanones, the Spanish Premier, arrived from Madrid this morning. He says the President invited him to come to talk over Spain's interest in the Congress, more particularly the League of Nations. He saw Clemenceau and Pichon, and will later see the President.

Lord Northcliffe confided to me today that he was about to execute the first great *coup* of the Congress—an interview with President Wilson which is to appear in the London *Times* tomorrow. Thus the President will give his first and only interview, and to the British Thunderer. The interview has been prepared; the President now has it, and will affix his "O. K." Lord Northcliffe is waiting to make sure this is done.

"It goes straight to the point," said Northcliffe. "It discusses the highly important question of the freedom of the seas, balance of power, and compares this Paris Congress with the Vienna Congress."

Later when I saw the manuscript, as "O. K.'d" by the President, it proved to be all claimed for it. It is the work of George Adam, Northcliffe's able lieutenant in Paris. From a literary standpoint it is a work of art which will place Wilson very favorably before the British public on the eve of his departure in quest of Lloyd George and Balfour. I could not help thinking that his Lordship, as well as his close friend, Lord Derby, the British ambassador, had shown their political sagacity in two ways: First, in providing this timely means for the President to make his bow to the British public. And second, in committing the President at the outset on Britain's privileged position on the "freedom of the seas" issue, and other questions on which British official opinion is very apprehensive concerning Wilson's position. As this was the President's first utterance on peace conference questions, and the statements received his approval in writing, it is well to note some of the main points of this presidential commitment.

Mr. Wilson first drew a very interesting contrast between the Congress of Vienna, which was responsible for so much evil in the world, and the Congress of Versailles which the world hopes will right the old wrongs as permanently as frail humanity can expect to do. The Congress of Vienna, he pointed out, was a Congress of "Bosses," and turning his eyes inward, Mr. Wilson remarked that he had not come to Europe as a "Boss" or master. The delegates at Vienna were concerned more with their own interests, and of those of the classes they represented, than with the wishes of their peoples. Versailles, as Mr. Wilson said, must be a meeting of the servants of the people represented by the delegates, and, he added, "There's no master mind

which can settle the problems of today. If there is anybody who thinks he knows what is in the minds of all the peoples, that man is a fool. We've all got to put our heads together and pool everything we've got for the benefit of the ideals which are common to us all."

As to why he, as President of the United States, had come to Europe at this time, Mr. Wilson said: "To me the reason seems very obvious. The issues to be determined at the forthcoming Conference will be of such overwhelming importance that the United States cannot refuse to share with the allies their great responsibility to civilization, and it is only by the frankest personal counsel with the statesmen of the allied countries that I can in some measure assist in these problems."

The President's declaration that "the United States cannot refuse to share with the allies their great responsibilities to civilization" is most significant in defining at the outset the part America intends to take at the peace-making on the great number of distinctly European questions, affecting the territory of continental Europe. The President added a moment later, as further indicating his idea that the United States must share responsibility with the European nations: "The difficulties and responsibilities, some of them very urgent and pressing, which are presented by the successful termination of the great war, must of course be shared by the great nations of the world as comrades of the less powerful."

President Wilson paid a glowing tribute to the Grand Fleet, and in that connection dealt with the "freedom of the seas." Of the fleet he said: "I have so fully realized that behind the great armies there was a strong, silent and

watchful support of the British Navy securing the communications of the allies that it would give me a great deal of pleasure to visit the Grand Fleet if it were possible for me to do so. There has been a very happy comradeship and loyal coöperation between the Navy of Great Britain and the Navy of the United States, and I am sure that all our people are keenly appreciative of it and know its full significance in the winning of the war."

The President in discussing the rôle of the British fleet in maintaining what, at any rate during the war, has been the "Freedom of the Seas" for the free people of the world, expressed his belief that decency and honesty would prevail in the dealings between members of the Anglo-Saxon race. "I have reason to know," he said, "with what unanimity and passionate conviction the people of Great Britain and America have entertained the same conception of Liberty and Justice. It is essential for the future peace of the world that there should be the frankest possible cooperation, and the most generous understanding between the two English-speaking democracies. We comprehend and appreciate, I believe, the grave problems which the war has brought to the British people, and fully understand the special international questions which arise from the fact of Britain's peculiar position as an Island Empire."

This reference to "Britain's peculiar position as an Island Empire," Mr. Wilson dealt with as having a direct bearing on the "Freedom of the Seas." He discussed in the freest manner the outstanding features of this problem, and while much of this confidence on the "Freedom of the Seas" was not for publication, it was undoubtedly pleas-

ing and calming to Lord Northcliffe, Lord Derby and Lloyd George, apprehensive as they have been, that this "Freedom of the Seas" was the rock on which the conference would split.

* * *

The President's very frank discussion of the "freedom of the seas," his tribute to the British Grand Fleet, and his concession of "Britain's peculiar position as an Island Empire," probably mark the first stage of the decline, if not the fall, of the second of the Fourteen Points: "Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas." This has been the "point" on which British official and public sentiment has been intensely apprehensive, and yet the "point" is now so attenuated that the President's interpretation of "Britain's peculiar position as an Island Empire" is likely to relieve all apprehension about the second of the Fourteen Points.

* * *

The President took déjeuner at the Foreign Office with Pichon, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and a number of diplomatic guests. At this gathering the President learned that Lloyd George and Balfour have again deferred their visit here, and were welcoming the idea of his visiting them in London. They have arranged meetings with him at Downing Street, and they are preparing a national welcome on a grand scene with the President as the guest of King George at Buckingham palace.

Premier Orlando of Italy, and Baron Sonnino, the Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs, saw the President during the afternoon. They are planning his trip to Italy, and are laboring hard to have him take a sympathetic view of Italy's territorial aspirations in the Adriatic, from Fiume

along the Dalmatian coast. There are hidden dangers lurking in this question, and the President's advisers are counselling caution against any commitment of the United States to the secret treaty of London, made when Italy entered the war, giving her as compensation not only Trieste and the Trentino, but all of Dalmatia and the Dalmatian Islands, and a part of Albania. The Italian statesmen are counting a great deal on the President's visit to Rome as the personal guest of King Victor Emanuel to enlist his sympathetic interest in Italy's national aspirations in the Adriatic.

CHAPTER VI

SCHOLARS AND DIPLOMATISTS

Dec. 21. The Sorbonne, in its old-world, middle-age setting, received the President today at a special session of the faculty and students, garbed in their quaint and gorgeous costumes of Richelieu's days, and conferred on him the degree of Doctor, Honoris Causa. It was an impressive ceremony, and it gave the President the opportunity of enlisting the intellectuals in his project of the League of Nations, which is gradually taking form. As a scholar from the western world the President must have been impressed on being within this ancient seat of learning, founded long before the discovery of America; its hoary traditions made manifest in the brilliant silken gowns and strange medieval hats of all colors and shapes, worn by the savants and students, these costumes picturing the march of French academic life through the centuries.

The huge amphitheater of the Sorbonne, seating 3,500, was crowded to its utmost capacity with a distinguished audience of scholars, scientists and the literary figures of France. It is a place of solemn dignity, with Puvis de Chevannes' masterpiece, "The Sacred Grove," on the walls, and the statues of the philosophers looking down from the cupola. On the platform were the Minister of Public Instruction and the Rector of the Sorbonne, with the faculty in their rich robes grouped about, and the American President the central figure in their midst.

In delivering the diploma to the President, M. Lucien Poincaré, the Rector, said it was a tribute of the institution to "Wilson the Just." As the President received the parchment the great audience rose to its feet and gave long and fervent expression to its enthusiasm, while the band of the Garde Républicain added a very modern touch to the ceremony by striking up the "Star-Spangled Banner."

The President was at home talking to university men. His address appealed to them, and it had besides some significant passages on the war and his view of the coming peace. Of education he said:

"I have always thought, sir, that the chief purpose of education was to awaken the spirit, and that, inasmuch as literature whenever it touched its great and highest notes was an expression of the spirit of mankind, the best induction into education was to feel the pulses of humanity which had beaten from age to age through the utterances of men who had penetrated into the secrets of the human spirit."

He referred to the war as not only one between nations, but between systems of culture—one system aggressive, using science without conscience, stripping learning of its moral restraints; the other reminiscent of high traditions, everywhere striking towards the right and seeking above all else to be free.

"There is a great wind of moral force moving through the world," he said earnestly, "and every man who opposes himself to that wind will go down in disgrace. The task of those who are gathered here to make the settlement of this peace is greatly simplified by the fact that they are the masters of no one; they are the servants of mankind,

and if we do not heed the mandates of mankind we shall make ourselves the most conspicuous and deserved failures in the history of the world."

The President referred to the League of Nations as the moral force of mankind throughout the world.

"If the Central Powers had dared to discuss the purposes of this war for a single fortnight," he said, "it never would have happened, and if, as should be, they were forced to discuss it a year, war would have been inconceivable."

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Returning from the Sorbonne, the President received Premier Orlando of Italy and Baron Sonnino, the Minister of Foreign Affairs. They came to again impress him with Italy's claims in the eastern Adriatic coast. But the indications are they were greatly disappointed at the President's strong intimation that the new-born Jugo-Slav nation had indisputable rights along this coast, particularly at Fiume, where they seek an outlet to the sea.

At 5 P. M. Lord Northcliffe gave a reception at the Ritz, with Lord Derby, the British Ambassador, as the central figure. Lord Derby is the typical John Bull of the best sort: big, bluff and hearty; well fed and well groomed, like one of the thoroughbreds of the turf classic, the Derby, named after his great grandfather. He shows his Derby blood, and this part of him is the aristocrat. But he is also a genial Lancashireman, and this part of him is the democrat. Just now Lord Northcliffe is acting as his Major Domo with the Americans, as he did when the Derby plan was tried before conscription as a means of raising an army. I recall seeing Northcliffe then and speaking to him of the stir Lord Derby was creating.

"Yes, he is a good advertiser," said Northcliffe.

Lord Derby had made all the plans for the President's journey to London, and explained them fully. The President will leave here next Wednesday night, Christmas night; will cross the Channel on a destroyer if the sea is calm, or by Channel steamer if the weather is rough. He will arrive in London at 2 P. M. Thursday, where he will be met at Charing Cross station by King George, the Prime Minister and Cabinet, and escorted to Buckingham Palace, where he will stay.

"All England awaits him eagerly," said Lord Derby, "and you may be sure the English people will give him one of the most splendid receptions ever given the head of a nation."

The President also saw Count di Romanones, the Spanish Premier. Later I saw the Premier and renewed our acquaintance of last year at Madrid, when he did me the honor of writing me a note saying I had written the best sketch of him he had seen. He said today that he was in full accord with the President's fourteen principles and with the League of Nations. He has been assured Spain will be represented at the Conference, and he says he will appoint as a delegate Señor Gasset, who is the great exponent in Spain of an international league to perpetuate peace.

* * *

Dec. 22. The President had his first opportunity today to see wounded American soldiers direct from the battle-front. With Mrs. Wilson he went to the American hospital at Neuilly and spent two hours going from ward to ward and from cot to cot, cheering the young heroes who

had done such wonders at Château-Thierry and the Argonne. Visiting a hospital is not an agreeable occupation, with the scent of blood and anesthetics, the sight of ghastly wounds and pallid faces, the sound of groans from some poor sufferer, and occasionally the passing of a litter with a silent form under a white sheet.

But the President did not seem to mind it: he was deeply interested in this real aspect of war: he talked with the men about their experiences, and about home, and about the war—why they had come into the war and what they thought of this business of warfare. It was a great experience for the men, to be thus intimately talking with the President. It is a vast institution, with over eleven hundred wounded men. And the President made it a point not to miss one man of the entire eleven hundred.

There were some curious cases as the President passed along. One marine had sixty-eight distinct wounds from the splinters of a bursting shell. Another man had a bullet wound in the neck: the bullet had gone through to the throat and been swallowed and digested, so that the soldier had the experience of swallowing the German bullet which struck him. Above many of the cots there was a rigging of harness to support a wounded arm or leg. The President noticed there were a great many wounds in the leg, and so he asked one of the men why it was so many were wounded in the leg.

"The others were wounded higher up and never got back to a hospital," was the simple explanation.

And then the President realized that those who had been wounded "higher up"—in the chest, head, and vital spots —were those lying out in the cemeteries of the Argonne

and at Suresne and along the lines where the fighting had been heaviest.

As this was Sunday the President avoided calls and conferences, and had a quiet day except for going to the hospital and to church.

Dec. 23. Christmas holiday throngs fill the boulevards, and as the President has no important engagements he joined Mrs. Wilson in a tour of the shopping districts to buy Christmas presents. They walked much of the way, through the Grand Boulevards, the Avenue de l'Opera, rue de la Paix, and the Rivoli, where the Christmas throngs were densest. Few people recognized the President, and he went about almost as one incognito. But now and then his features—so well known from the portraits in shop windows and the illustrated papers—would be recognized and a knot of people would quickly gather to acclaim him. His popularity wears well, and shows no sign of wearing off.

Dec. 24. Clemenceau called on the President again, for a final talk before the President's departure tonight for the American front and then for London. The fencing which has been going on between the President and Premier during this series of conferences has made pretty clear what are to be the points of contact and divergence between the French and Americans during the peace discussions. Both of them count on Lloyd George, and each looks forward to the President's conferences in London as a turning-point in the negotiations.

The Belgian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Paul Hymans, also came from Brussels to have a talk with the President. M. Hymans will be the head of the Belgian delegation to

the conference. He is much interested also in the President's visit to Brussels as the guest of King Albert, and to the devastated regions of Belgium so that the President may see for himself the extent of havoc wrought by the Germans for which Belgium expects compensation.

The Minister presented also the case concerning the "scrap of paper," which is the name Bethmann-Hollweg gave to the Treaty of 1839 guaranteeing the neutrality of Belgium. The Parliament of Belgium, in its recent response to King Albert's speech from the throne, adopted a declaration that Belgium had outgrown the Treaty of 1839 and did not want a further guarantee of its neutrality from the great powers, for the reason that in practice this guaranty has proved a "scrap of paper," and also has been a limitation on Belgium's full exercise of sovereignty. M. Hyman's is a persuasive, aggressive advocate of a cause very dear to him, and the President appeared to be impressed with the Belgian case.

At ten o'clock tonight the President's special train left for Chaumont, the headquarters of General Pershing and the American Expeditionary Force.

* * *

Dec. 25. The President spent Christmas day with the American troops at Chaumont, where he was the guest of General Pershing, reviewed ten thousand of the picked men from the various fighting divisions, and made them a rousing speech, giving them a tribute to their valor and a merry Christmas. Chaumont is in the very heart of the fighting region, and one looks out from here on the mountains of the Vosges, with the St. Mihiel sector off to the right, the Argonne forest off to the left, and Metz off in

the distance midway between them. These were the scenes of the fiercest fighting, and the troops were brought in today from these various sectors, including the 6th, 26th, 29th, 77th, 80th, and 82nd divisions.

After reviewing the troops with General Pershing, the President turned to the men as they stretched away in solid ranks over the snowy fields, and said:

"You knew what we expected of you, and you did it with a spirit which gave it distinction and glory. Now I know what you and the people at home expect me to do, and I am happy to say that I do not find in the hearts of the great leaders with whom it is my privilege now to cooperate, any difference of principle or of fundamental purpose. It happened that it was the privilege of America to present the chart for peace, and now the process of settlement has been rendered comparatively simple by the acceptance of that chart by all the nations. The world will now know that the nations who fought this war, as well as the soldiers who represented them, are ready to make good—to make good not only by the assertion of their own interests, but make good by the establishment of peace upon the permanent foundation of right and justice."

The President left Chaumont after a round of receptions, going direct to Boulogne, where he will cross the channel early in the morning for England.

CHAPTER VII

A DUEL OF WITS—WILSON VS. CLEMENCEAU—COVENANT VS. ALLIANCE

THE Christmas holidays of 1918 witnessed the opening of a duel of wits such as the world has not often seen before, with the President of the United States and the Premier of France—Wilson and Clemenceau—as the participants, Paris, London and Manchester as the alternating scenes of the encounter, and the members of the Peace Conference as the immediate spectators, though further back the rest of the world looked on from afar at this unusual struggle in world politics. It was indeed the shaping of two great rival policies which were to clash throughout the entire Peace Conference, and which were to come forth later as the two chief constructive works of the Conference—the Covenant of the League of Nations, and the Franco-British-American Alliance—each bearing the evidences of this encounter.

The setting for the encounter was unusually attractive, beginning in London with the tumultuous fêtes which greeted the arrival of the President, then shifting to Paris during a midnight session of the Chamber of Deputies, and then again shifting to Manchester, the heart of industrial England. In these successive bouts, Wilson first challenged the position of Clemenceau; Clemenceau responded by challenging the position of Wilson; and the

President at Manchester had the last word in this exchange. It all seemed to be staged as a sort of holiday diversion on a gigantic scale, for it began on Christmas day when the President left for England, and culminated on New Year's day. The keynote of the President's declaration in London was that the world would no longer tolerate an alliance or grouping of nations into a "balance of power." And to this Clemenceau threw back the response:

"I pin my faith to the principle of the balance of power, and it will be my guiding principle throughout the Peace Conference."

* * *

This clash of policies was to bring about one of the strangest results of the entire Peace Conference—the triumph of two principles diametrically opposed to each other: The League of Nations was to be established because it was opposed to the crafty Bismarckian policy of a "balance of power," or an alliance of one group of powers to stabilize, or balance, the other group. And yet, in the end, the unyielding persistence of Clemenceau was to gain recognition and acceptance of the alliance policy by the signing of the Franco-British-American alliance guaranteeing united military assistance to France in case of unprovoked attack by Germany.

Moreover, the peace treaty itself was to have in effect an alliance clause, by the provision that if Germany showed any military activity within a given distance along the Rhine, this in itself would constitute a breach of the treaty, and in effect would *ipso facto* reëstablish the united front against Germany.

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As a spectacle, the reception given the President in England was even greater than that in Paris, for everything was on a majestic scale. As the President debarked at Dover, on the morning of the 26th, he was greeted by the Duke of Connaught, uncle of the King, and a distinguished assemblage of the notable personages of the country. The army and the navy joined in the greeting, and as the President proceeded, his path was strewn with flowers, thrown by little girls wearing the American flag as a shoulder sash.

As the President arrived in London, he was greeted by King George in person, accompanied by Queen Mary and Princess Mary, and by the entire membership of the Cabinet, with the Prime Minister, Lloyd George, and the Foreign Minister, Mr. Balfour, in the foreground. The superb royal coach from the King's mews—the coach which bears his Majesty to Westminster for the opening of Parliament—was in waiting, drawn by the six high-stepping black horses from the King's stable, with their outriders in powdered wigs, and the harness glittering with its golden mountings. The famous band of the Grenadier guards played the "Star-Spangled Banner" as the President emerged from Charing Cross station and looked out upon the sea of humanity gathered to greet him. It extended in solid masses down the Strand to Trafalgar Square, and thence through the Mall and around Piccadilly. Into this surging multitude moved the royal coach and its high-stepping horses, with King George sitting quietly and silently on the left, and the President, radiant and bowing to each side, sitting on the King's right. Such a volume of sound has seldom been heard in the London streets as went up

when the American President and the King of England passed along.

In the esplanade fronting Buckingham Palace some two hundred thousand people had gathered. They kept up their cheers long after the President and King had passed inside the gates of the palace, until, at last, the President appeared on the palace balcony, standing beside the King. They were joined by the Queen, who waved above her head an American flag, and by Mrs. Wilson, who waved the Union Jack. It was a spectacle which stirred the multitude to frantic demonstration. Seeing a number of wounded soldiers among the crowd, the President made a short speech to them from the balcony.

"I honor you men who have been wounded for this fight for freedom," he said, "and I want to thank you for the welcome you have given me so generously."

There was another scene of splendor when the President was the guest of honor at a gala dinner given by the King at Buckingham Palace. But it was the popular reception wherever the President went—to the Guildhall, the Mansion House, to Carlyle and Manchester, that was the most notable feature of his visit to England.

* * *

It was in this setting of enthusiasm that the clash between Wilson and Clemenceau began. The President made his first formal address at the Guildhall, that ancient, official center of the City of London. He was escorted by the Lord Mayor of London, and about him were the dignitaries of the city and a crowd which packed the building. He chose this occasion for denouncing the cornerstone of the Clemenceau policy, the "balance of power."

"As I have conversed with the soldiers," he said, "I have been more and more convinced that they fought for something that not all of them had defined, but which all of them recognized the moment you stated it to them. They fought to do away with an old order and to establish a new one, and the center and characteristic of the old order was that unstable thing which we used to call the balance of power—a thing in which the balance was determined by the sword, which was thrown in on the one side or the other; a balance of power which was determined by the unstable equilibrium of competing interests; a balance which was maintained by jealousy and an antagonism of interests, which, though it was generally latent, was always deep-seated.

"The people who have fought this war have been men from the free nations who are determined that sort of thing should end now and forever; that there must now be not a balance of power, not one powerful group of nations set up against one another, but a single, overwhelming, powerful group of nations who shall be the trustees of the peace of the world."

The President's declaration against the old-world policy of a "balance of power" was made on Friday. That afternoon, and the following day, he had extended conferences with Lloyd George and Mr. Balfour at the Prime Minister's private residence in Downing Street, alongside the Foreign Office. It was on Saturday night that Clemenceau replied to the President's declaration.

* * *

"The balance of power," mused Clemenceau, defiantly, as he stood in the midst of the deputies at the midnight

session of the Chamber of Deputies, with the words of Wilson's still echoing in his ears.

"This good old system of alliances called the "balance of power," Clemenceau went on, "seems to be condemned nowadays in certain quarters. But let me say that if such a balance of power had preceded this great war—if England, America, France and Italy had been allied and balanced against the Teutonic powers—if those powers had declared among themselves that whoever attacked one of them attacked the whole world, the war would never have occurred."

There were interruptions from the Socialist deputies, but Clemenceau, waving them aside, went on:

"You are about to vote, gentlemen. And you should know, in voting, that this system of alliances, of a balance of power, though condemned in some quarters, is not renounced by me, and that this system of alliances will be my guiding thought throughout the Peace Conference, if your votes on this motion of confidence send me there."

The Premier received hearty support on his declaration, only the socialists holding aloof with continuous murmurs of protest.

The vote was a clear and direct issue between the Wilson principle of a League, and the Clemenceau principle of an offensive and defensive alliance and balance of power. The vote on the motion of confidence was 380 to 134—a majority for Clemenceau of 246—a greater majority than he had ever before received, with his inveterate enemies, the socialists, alone recorded against him. All the rest, Republicans, Nationalists, Radicals, and the scattered groups, had come pell-mell to the side of Clemen-

ceau at the moment of his defiant disclaimer of the Wilson principle.

The effect of the Clemenceau speech was very great in the American Peace delegation, as it had been in the French Chamber of Deputies. It was accepted as a defiance, and as bringing into the open the French attitude of resistance to the Wilson idea. Colonel House secured the text of the speech from the Official Journal, and it was doubtless telegraphed to the presidential party then en route to Manchester, where the President was to speak on Monday.

"It will be interesting to hear what the President has to say at Manchester concerning Clemenceau's declaration," said Colonel House.

* * *

President Wilson's speech at Manchester was made under auspicious circumstances. Great crowds had acclaimed him through the streets of the old city of Manchester, the home of Bright and Cobden and the Manchester school of statesmen who first proclaimed the doctrine of free trade. Now he had arrived at the town hall, where, from the Lord Mayor and the Aldermen, he was to receive the scroll enrolling him as a freeman of the city. From the Lord Mayor was to come the greeting as "foremost of all Americans who have ever visited England, representative of the stupendous effort made by the United States to ensure a right conclusion of the war."

Thus addressed, the President's first words were a tribute of friendship. But through his speech ran the very clear expression of opposition to the Clemenceau principle of alliances and a balance of power.

"You know," said the President, "that heretofore the world has been governed, or the attempt has been made to govern it, by partnerships of interest, and that they have broken down. Interest does not bind men together. Interest separates men. For, the moment there is the slightest departure from the nice adjustment of self-interest, then jealousy begins to spring up. There is only one thing that can bind peoples together and that is common devotion to right."

The President was thus far general, but now he became more specific toward Clemenceau's idea of a balance of power.

"The United States has always felt from the very beginning of her story," the President went on, "that she must keep herself separate from any kind of connection with European politics. I want to say very frankly that the United States is not now interested in European politics, but she is interested in the partnership of right between America and Europe. If the future had nothing for us but a new attempt to keep the world at a right poise by a balance of power, then the United States would take no interest, because she will join no combination of powers which is not a combination of all. She is not interested merely in the peace of Europe but in the peace of the world."

This was a very specific rejoinder to Clemenceau's declaration that the principle of alliances and a balance of power would be his guide throughout the Peace Conference. "The United States will take no interest in such alliances," says the President. And he adds a prophecy

which should be remembered when the work of the Conference is over:

"The United States will join no combination of powers which is not a combination of all."

The President closed his Manchester speech with a warning to statesmen who were resisting the new doctrine of common service, and there is little doubt the French resistance was in his mind.

"There is a great voice of humanity abroad in the world just now," he said, "and he who cannot hear it is deaf. There is a great compulsion of the common conscience now in existence which, if any statesman resists, it will gain for him the most unenviable eminence in history. We are not obeying the mandate of parties or of politics. We are obeying the mandate of humanity. I hope we may do something like my very stern ancestors did, for among my ancestors were those very determined persons who were known as the Covenanters. I wish we could—not alone Great Britain and the United States, but also France, Italy and all the world—enter into a great Covenant, declaring ourselves first of all friends of mankind and uniting ourselves together, for the maintenance and triumph of right."

* * *

Thus the stage was set for this initial conflict—Covenant *vs.* Alliance. And yet, strangely enough, both won; Mr. Wilson winning his Covenant, and M. Clemenceau winning the Franco-British-American Alliance for mutual support against Germany.

CHAPTER VIII

THE GREAT YEAR: 1919

Jan. 1. This is the opening of an eventful year, perhaps the most eventful in the history of America and of Europe's relations with America. The war has just been won largely through America's timely and decisive aid. And now an American President is here to play a no less timely and decisive rôle in the peace deliberations about to open. I am fortunate in being able to view this series of events and their notable actors, intimately and at close range, and set them down as they occur with their sidelights, to see how the great peace projects gradually take form, and as a record of what must be either a great epoch or a great fiasco in the affairs of America.

The President returned last night from London. He spends the day here and leaves tonight for Rome for a visit to King Victor Emanuel. Although it was New Year's day, there were no receptions or social functions as the French do not observe the custom of exchanging calls on this day. The President spent a quiet day at the Murat Palace. Colonel House was the chief caller, spending a long time in conference with the President on the results achieved by the talks with Lloyd George and Balfour. The President has been deeply impressed with the warmth of the popular demonstration in London and Manchester, not so much as a personal tribute to him but because he counts

on its giving him the support of British public opinion in this game he is entering upon with the British statesmen.

Mr. Balfour also arrived from London, and went on to Cannes for a rest after the fatigues of the English elections and before entering on the hard work of the peace making. I saw him for a moment at the Majestic, which the British delegation has requisitioned as their official headquarters. He looks pale and rather worn, but is counting on the links at Cannes to bring him around. Colonel House had a long talk with him, getting his view of the meetings with the President at Downing Street.

Mr. Balfour also proposed that there be a larger "panel" of delegates representing the various countries at the peace conference. His idea is that besides the regular delegates, there shall be interchangeable places, to be filled by the specialists and experts when their special subjects are considered. This will probably be accepted by the American delegation, so that the American specialists—Hoover on food, Baruch and McCormick on economics, Admiral Benson on naval affairs, Hurley on shipping, Gompers on labor, Davis on finance, etc.—will have a voice at the peace table when their subjects are under consideration. Mr. Balfour said Bonar Law will not be one of the British delegates, as his duties as leader of the House of Commons will not permit him to remain in Paris for the peace sessions. The British delegation will be headed by the Prime Minister, and besides Balfour, will include Barnes, Minister of Labor, the other members being interchangeable, so as to permit the colonies, as well as the experts, to sit as representatives of the Empire.

Admiral Benson expressed satisfaction later when he

learned that Mr. Balfour's panel system might give the United States Navy a representation in the peace conference. While the Admiral is very reserved, yet there is naturally some comment in naval quarters that the American navy, after the part it took in the war and the importance of maritime questions in the peace—including the disposition of the German fleet and the "freedom of the seas"—has no representative on the American Peace delegation, although the Army is represented in the person of General Bliss. Admiral Benson, as the highest ranking naval officer and Chief of Operations during the war, has been acting as naval adviser to the President and Colonel House. But in case the Balfour plan is adopted the Admiral will be more than an adviser and will act as delegate when naval questions are considered.

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Jan. 2. One of the President's confidential envoys is back from London, where he acted as intermediary in arranging the discussion of peace topics between the President and the British ministers. The details are most interesting, as showing the tactful care of shaping the whole programme of discussion, as the President did not intend that his visit to England would be absorbed by social functions, receptions and banquets. The private envoy therefore went to London four days ahead of the President in order to see Lloyd George and reach a definite understanding as to when the talks with the President would be held and what would be discussed. He saw the Prime Minister and Mr. Balfour, made the appointment for the Downing Street conference, learned the subjects they wished to take up at the conference, and explained what questions the

President desired to present. This, with their consent, was made known to the President, who thus knew in advance of the conference just what subjects would be brought up for discussion on both sides.

Again, after the meeting of the President, Lloyd George and Balfour, the President's private envoy saw the Ministers and learned from them just what was felt as a result of the President's talks. This also was communicated to the President, who was thus kept fully advised of the trend of the Prime Minister's views. The intermediary told me of a significant remark made by Lloyd George, which disclosed the direction British official sentiment was taking after the President had presented his case.

"I am satisfied," said the Prime Minister, "that British public opinion is overwhelmingly in favor of the League of Nations, and that being so the British people will expect me to give expression to their overwhelming wish. Under such conditions, I could not possibly let the Peace Conference close without the formulation of a definite plan for the League and its establishment on an enduring basis. I have reached the conclusion that the people expect me to do this, and I will meet their expectation."

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So this much is certain: That at the Downing Street conference the President carried the day for making the League the paramount question before the Peace Conference, and that he definitely committed the British Prime Minister to support of the project. But to what Lloyd George committed the President, in return for acceptance of the League, is another question not yet disclosed.

The favorable attitude of the Prime Minister is regarded

by the American delegates as offsetting any seeming difference between the President and Clemenceau. Ambassador Jusserand also says that after long talks with the President and Clemenceau each showed a very strong personal regard for the other, with no evidence of any real disaccord in view. The Ambassador disclosed the important fact that the French, instead of combating the President's plan for a world-league, are the first to submit an actual draft for such a project. Their draft has already been submitted to Colonel House. The English advocates of a league are also ready with a plan. But no American plan has been put forward and none seems to be in sight, although it has been supposed all along the President was taking the lead in this project. The French say they do not understand why the Americans are so backward in giving definite form to the President's chief policy, which is known thus far only as a vague abstract ideal. This in turn has put the American delegates on their mettle, and there are hurried conferences to put together some definite plan which will have the American trade-mark.

"The French and English plans are very general," said one of the Americans in authority, "but our international experts are at work to present a plan which will be concrete and in the form of a statutory enactment. We all agree on general principles: now it is necessary to put these principles into the form of precise articles of a treaty, and that is what we are doing. But after all the President will have the final word as to any plan bearing the American stamp."

The President has been enthusiastically greeted on his way to Rome. He passed the Alps by the Mt. Cenis tun-

nel, and from the time his train crossed the Italian frontier a continuous series of ovations has been given him. At Turin and Genoa vast crowds welcomed him as he passed, but he made no speeches and is reserving himself until formally received by the Government at Rome. The luxury of the Presidential train gives little idea of the war conditions through which Europe has just passed. The wagon-lits are sumptuous in their furnishings; there are private drawing-rooms and dining saloons; the King is giving Democracy a kingly setting.

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Jan. 3. The President arrived in Rome today as the guest of King Victor Emanuel. It brought out another tumultuous demonstration, rivalling those at Paris and London, and besides the popular tribute, the President was the personal guest of the King at the royal palace, was received by the two Chambers of Parliament in joint assembly, and closed the day by being made a citizen of Rome.

It was an impressive scene as the President emerged from the railway station and looked out on the Eternal City in its very modern and tumultuous garb. Just across the Plaza rose the crumbling baths of Diocletian and further off the ruins of the palace of the Cæsars, while the streets were packed with vast throngs. King Victor and Queen Helena in person came to the station to receive their guest and escort him to the palace. The Mayor of Rome and all the municipal counsellors were also assembled, with long lines of Italian bersaglieri in their smart uniforms and long, waving plumes. From end to end of the Via Nationale, as the royal coach bearing the King and

the President moved along, a frantic welcome came from the multitude, with American and Italian flags waving and "Viva Wilson!" everywhere echoing.

At noon the President and Mrs. Wilson had luncheon with the Queen Mother Marguerita at her palace, and at night they were the guests of honor at a State dinner given by the King and Queen at the royal palace. Throughout the day deputations were calling with addresses of welcome. One of them was from the Senate and Chamber of the Italian Parliament, and with them the President proceeded to the assembly chamber. Replying to the address of welcome, the President made his first speech in Italy, dealing with the Balkan question which so intimately concerns Italy, for the Balkans includes Jugo Slavia, that new combination of Slav states which is challenging Italy for mastery of the Adriatic.

"The distinguishing fact of this war," he said, "is that great empires have gone to pieces. And the characteristics of those empires are that they held different peoples reluctantly together under the coercion of force and the guidance of intrigue. The great difficulty among such states as those of the Balkans has been that they were always accessible to secret influence. They were always penetrated by intrigue of some sort or another. Now this intrigue is checked and the bands are broken, and what we are going to provide is a new cement to hold these peoples together. They have not been accustomed to independence. They must now be independent. Our task at Paris is to organize the binding force and the friendship of the world—to see to it that all the moral forces that make for right and justice and liberty are united and are given a

vital organization to which the peoples of the world will readily and gladly respond."

The President spoke in English, as is his custom, so that comparatively few of those about him understood. But there was constant applause as he proceeded, and all the leaders, like Crespi, Giolitti, Nitti, and the rest, crowded about to catch each word. He did not forget to add one more blow to Clemenceau's "balance of power," when he said:

"We know that there cannot be another balance of power. That has been tried and found wanting, for the best of all reasons, that it does not stay balanced, and a weight which does not hold together cannot constitute a make-weight in the affairs of men. Therefore, there must be something substituted for the balance of power, and I am happy to find everywhere in the air of these great nations that that thing must be a thoroughly united League of Nations. We stand at the opening of a new age in which a new statesmanship will lift mankind to new levels."

While admiring the President's courage, there are some who question the timeliness of his addressing the Italians on their most tender topic—Jugo Slavia—at the moment he is being acclaimed as the national guest.

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It was announced during the day that allied agreement had finally been reached for the appointment of Hoover as Director General of Relief. This gives him complete control of this branch for all the allies, and yet they had been cautious enough to provide an Executive Committee of two members from each of the allied countries to supervise the work of the Director General. Hoover chafes

over this supervision, but it is the only condition on which his appointment is conceded. The relief project is a huge one for feeding 125,000,000—more than the population of the United States—and America is to supply 85 per cent. of this relief. The President, in his trips through France and Italy, has seen very little of this distress and suffering, of which so much is heard, calling for the most colossal relief project ever conceived.

Jan. 4. The names of the French delegates to the Peace Conference are quite definitely announced in a semi-official communiqué, as Clemenceau, Pichon, Klotz, the Finance Minister, Leon Bourgeois and Andre Tardieu, with Marshal Foch as consulting military delegate. While this is not strictly official, yet Colonel House says it is the list as it has been made known in confidence, with possibly the name of Bourgeois in doubt. The communiqué says, also, that the Peace Conference will make its decisions by unanimous vote, and anything short of such unanimity will not prevail. Who is making such prearrangements for the Peace Conference is not quite clear. Colonel House says, also, that the idea of a unanimous decision will not prevail. It would have some advantages for the United States, which would be less free in case delicate questions were decided by a majority vote of a combination of European powers. But against this, the Colonel says, is the fact that a unanimous vote would make the peace conference a purely negative organization; one small country could hold up action and defeat the entire work of the Conference. There will be no unanimous requirement, therefore, but at the same time unanimity will

be secured as far as possible for the moral effect it will have on the outside world.

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The President saw Pope Benedict today—the first occasion of a President meeting a Pope and the Pope meeting a President. It was a meeting of the old order and the new, surrounded with all the impressive pomp and dignity of the Vatican Palace. Early in the day, the Piazza of San Pietro was packed with a dense multitude of some two hundred thousand people. Beyond rose the dome of old St. Peters, and sweeping around the cheering throng was the stately marble colonnade of the palace. The President was received with great formality by the papal dignitaries, flanked by long lines of Swiss guards in their bright yellow costumes, with lances and shining halberds. The party was escorted to Clementine Hall, resplendent with its Rubens frescoes, and thence to the throne room where His Holiness awaited the President.

The Pope was gowned in white silk, with a small white silk berrata on his head. Without introduction the Pope advanced and, holding out his hand, warmly greeted the President. He spoke in English, and led the way to two gilded chairs near the open window, from which they could look out and see the cheering multitude. The visit lasted some twenty minutes, and was apparently most agreeable. The Pontiff expressed his deep concern in the reëstablishment of peace, and gave full tribute to America and the American President for the part taken in making peace a reality.

The Pope presented the President one of the famous

Vatican mosaics, representing Guido Reni's notable picture of St. Peter.

The President next made a call on Cardinal Gaspari, the Cardinal Secretary of State of the Vatican. Here, too, there was a long and agreeable exchange, the Cardinal presenting the President with a handsomely bound copy of his codification of the canon laws. The President returned from the Vatican to the American embassy, as he had come from the embassy to the Vatican, thus avoiding the delicate diplomatic issue over proceeding from the Quirinal to the Vatican—those two antagonistic emblems of the Italian State and the Italian Church.

Later in the day the President saw the various Protestant denominations represented at Rome, thus tactfully steering the way between the breakers of religious discrimination.

* * *

The announcement of Hoover's appointment as Director General of Relief, means a good deal more than a matter of food relief, it is now pointed out. It is the first real showing of what a League of Nations could accomplish in a practical way. It is the first time since the Conference began to function that the allies and the United States had been able to make a united agreement. While not called a league, yet in truth the allies and the United States are now leagued for the first time in something more than a theory or an ideal—in the very practical thing of food and existence, for most of these European countries.

Jan. 5. The question of establishing the Zionists in Palestine is one of the earliest subjects to take form in Conference circles. Rabbi Stephen Wise of New York

has been here in conference with Colonel House; he has already seen Mr. Balfour at the British Foreign Office, and is waiting for a conference with the President on his return from Italy. Dr. Wise is Chairman of the American Zionist organization, of which Justice Brandeis of the United States Supreme Court is Honorary President. A group of the foremost British Zionists are also here conferring with the British and other delegates.

Following his talk with Balfour and Colonel House—and later with Tardieu, of the French delegation—Dr. Wise wrote out a statement which discloses that a very definite plan is now under way, to accomplish:

First—a mandate to Great Britain as the trustee over Palestine.

Second—a mandate to France as the trustee over Syria.

Third—a mandate to the United States as the trustee over Armenia.

This is the first we have heard of "mandates" before the Peace Conference. Dr. Wise's written statement is so significant, following his talks with the British, French and American delegates, that it is worth recording. He said:

"Great Britain should be given, and, I believe, will be given, the Mandatory of Trusteeship over Palestine, which trusteeship Great Britain, I have reason for saying, will not accept save by the common consent of such disinterested peoples as our own. Great Britain's trusteeship over a Jewish Palestine will be because of the summons, or mandate, of the League of Nations, and for the sake of the Jewish people and the Jewish Commonwealth which they are in time to realize.

"In all this," said Dr. Wise, "it is no secret that the President, Colonel House and Secretary Lansing have long watched with friendly interest the development of the Zionist movement. In this they have represented the judgment of the American people, including a vast majority of American Jews, and they will interpret that judgment with generosity and vision.

"It is safe to forecast that France, as admirable in peace as glorious in war, will assent to the decision of the League of Nations, which will give the mandate for Palestine to Great Britain, as Great Britain and America will assent to France becoming the Mandatory over neighboring Syria."

The question was put to Dr. Wise whether it was true that America might accept a Mandate for Armenia? "I do not know," he answered, "but I believe that the American people would proudly accept such a mandate, in view of America's long-time interest in Armenia and the Armenian people. What a glorious adventure in service it would prove if America accepted a Mandatory for Armenia, which must forever be freed from rule by or alliance with Turkey."

* * *

The President is on his way back from Italy, with continuous ovations all along the route. Today he was at Genoa where he visited the monuments of Columbus and Mazzini and the remnant of what is said to be the home of Columbus. At the Columbus monument he made a speech in a driving rainstorm, which was not sufficient, however, to keep away the cheering crowds. At Milan, there was the same sort of demonstration.

* * *

The President and his party are discovering Europe. They have seen the Forum, the Colosseum, the Appian Way, the Tiber, the birthplace of Columbus. To old Europe these ancient monuments have lain here so long they have become almost commonplace, but seen now through new-world Presidential eyes they are taking on new significance. When the President gazed at the Colosseum a regiment of Arditi snapped by—the ever-lasting march of soldiers that has been going on at this same spot for two thousand years. Along the Tiber the President passed the very spot where Horatius held the bridge two thousand years ago. The public too is taking new interest in these old places and there is a sort of reawakening or discovery of many of Europe's old institutions.

CHAPTER IX

A MARE'S NEST: SECRET TREATIES

Jan. 6. A sudden commotion was observed at American headquarters today over the part that certain secret treaties, made between the European great powers, is going to play in the territorial discussion at the Peace table. These secret treaties are surrounded with great mystery; many inquiries are being made as to their exact terms. How far the United States will be bound by what the European powers have determined among themselves on territorial frontiers, is an open question.

There are at least three of these secret treaties. The one which excites chief interest for the moment is that between England, France, Italy and Russia, practically dividing up the eastern coast of the Adriatic, assigning Dalmatia and the Dalmatian Islands and much of Istria, to Italy; also reaffirming Italy's preponderant influence over Albania and giving a very definite Italian sphere of influence in Albania. The other secret treaty just now in the foreground is between England and France relative to Syria. Just what the terms are is not clear, but France appears to secure very definite rights over old Syria, while English rights are safeguarded in Mesopotamia, Arabia, and probably in the Palestine section of Syria.

One of the diplomatists who has had a hand in this secret business says that the French-English treaty is ac-

companied by a series of colored maps; so that by a large dab of red paint, France gets a good slice of Syria, and by another dab of blue paint, England gets what is left of Mesopotamia and Palestine.

* * *

How far the President is acquainted with these secret treaties is not clear. It will be one of the burning subjects when he gets back from Italy. But Colonel House knows all about them—at least about the one giving Italy a preponderant position in the Adriatic, and the Colonel privately discloses a remarkable incident in which he saved the United States from being committed to this particular secret treaty.

The incident occurred at Versailles while the allies were figuring out the terms of the Armistice to be submitted to Austria, back in November last. Lloyd George, Clemenceau, Orlando and Colonel House had been working on these Armistice terms, which were to be sent to General Diaz, the Italian commander, for submission to the Austrian high command.

In going over these terms the Colonel observed that the frontier between Italy and Austria, to which the Austrian troops were required to fall back, was quite a new frontier, running north of the Alps and including the Austrian Tyrol as lying within Italy. On inquiry, it was explained that this was the frontier laid down by the secret treaty between England, France and Italy, of which little or nothing had been known up to that time outside of the inner circles of European diplomacy.

Colonel House at once took issue as to this frontier. He did not object to it as the line to which the Austrian

troops should fall back, as that was of little consequence to him and was a purely military question. But he did definitely object to having this secret frontier serve as a commitment of the United States to a recognition of the secret treaty of London, or of this particular frontier designated in the secret treaty. It was therefore clearly understood that the frontier would go into the Armistice terms merely as a military expedient. But it was not to serve in the slightest as a commitment of the United States, on this frontier or on the Secret Treaty.

And so back last November there was the first inkling of this Secret Treaty, the first maneuver in which the United States narrowly escaped being committed, and the first writing into the Armistice terms with Austria of a frontier with Italy based on the secret treaty of London. As the Austrian Armistice terms are still in force, it will be interesting to note how far this first move, basing the Austro-Italian frontier on the Secret Treaty of London, will be carried into the ultimate and final frontier laid down by the peace treaty with Austria.

* * *

The Secret Treaty of London came up again, it seems, when American warships participated in carrying out the naval branch of the Austrian Armistice, and here again, the United States narrowly escaped being committed to the Secret Treaty. The story as told me by one of the ranking naval authorities, is so remarkable that it is given in some detail. Admiral Blank had been ordered to go to the Adriatic to assist in carrying out the naval part of the Armistice. The American Admiral went to Pola, lately the great naval base of the Austrian fleet. He had

with him one of our old monitors which had been at Corfu, four destroyers and some twenty-seven chasers used against submarines. It was not much of a fleet to represent the United States, but it was the best we could spare for that purpose. The main end was to show the United States flag and let these people along the Adriatic know that America was a reality. The little "chasers" were very handy in doing this, as they drew little water, and ran inside the shallow Archipelago all along the eastern coast of the Adriatic.

It soon developed that there were two very powerful influences at work—the Italian and the Jugo-Slav. Both of these influences claimed to be dominant in this region, and both were counting above all on getting the United States committed to their particular side. The Italian Admiral, Theron de Revel, was in charge of carrying out the Armistice, as the Italian Navy was much more numerous than any other in these Adriatic waters. Admiral de Revel had long been the chief exponent of Italian control of the Adriatic, which the secret treaty of London in effect established. The Admiral proceeded to occupy most of the coast town of Dalmatia, Istria and the outlining islands, raising the Italian flag, establishing Italian garrisons, and sending a wave of enthusiasm through Italy as the popular belief spread that the Adriatic had at last passed into the control of Italy. The American Admiral, being there to assist in the operations, and being much junior to Admiral de Revel, was largely a spectator of the Italian occupation all along the coast.

But the new Jugo-Slav power suddenly began making its claims known in very forcible manner. The Austrian

fleet which was to be surrendered—some seven battleships and armored cruisers, and a great number of smaller craft —was found to have crews made up entirely of Jugo-Slavs. The Austrian officers commanding the warships, fearing mutiny from the Jugo-Slav crews, had quit the ships, so that the entire Austrian fleet was lying there in the Adriatic completely in the hands of the Jugo-Slav crews. These Jugo-Slavs were in no mood to turn over the ships to the Italians, as they represented the new and rising Slav power that contested Italy at every turn through the Adriatic.

The Jugo-Slav crews at once formulated a novel proposition—to surrender the Austrian fleet to the United States. Admiral Blank had not come to the Adriatic to take over an entire fleet, and this tender of the Austrian warships was refused, after the Admiral had duly communicated with his superiors. The chief grounds for the refusal was that the Armistice itself provided that the surrender of the ships should be to the allied and associated powers, and not to the United States alone. It disclosed, however, that the Jugo-Slavs were depending upon the United States, and in point of force, the Jugo-Slav crews were in a position to resist the Armistice. The situation was not only delicate but acute for a time. But the crews were finally prevailed upon to turn over the fleet to the allies and the United States, with the expectation that part of the ships would come back to them in time as the nucleus of a Jugo-Slav navy.

The American Admiral had succeeded thus far in steering between the two rival elements, and not committing the United States to either side. But at this juncture, Admiral de Revel, as the senior officer, invited the other naval

representatives to Rome to attend an "international naval conference" to pass upon the situation in the Adriatic. There was considerable surprise and some agitation in high naval quarters at Washington and here at the Peace Conference when the American Admiral reported that he was in Rome, where any naval conference would not fail to hear the Italian claim under the Treaty of London.

There was a hurried search for copies of the Secret Treaty, under which Italy's occupation was largely based. The American position was finally made known, however, in such way that whatever course Admiral Blank took at the international naval conference at Rome, the United States would not be committed in any way on the Secret Treaty of London, and its provisions relative to the Adriatic. As one of the highest naval officers said:

"Admiral Blank was sent to the Adriatic on a purely naval mission, and he has nothing to do with any political question affecting the Adriatic or the Adriatic coast. It would have been just as well if he had not attended the conference of Rome. But being there, if he takes any action outside of the purely naval mission on which he was sent, it will be disapproved. The United States is not going to be committed one way or the other on these rival political claims in the Adriatic, or on the Secret Treaty of London."

Just how our naval representative in the Adriatic steered between the rival claims I do not know, but there was no commitment, and for the second time the United States maintained its attitude of cautious reserve on the Secret Treaty of London.

* * *

The President was at Turin today, and made five different addresses in the course of his short stay. Turin is the home of Giolitti, the chief opponent of Orlando in the present Italian régime; and industrial Turin is also one of the hotbeds of Italian socialism and of serious disorder during the latter stages of the war. But all elements seemed to join today in giving the President a hearty welcome. When he was given the freedom of the city, he responded by telling why the United States came into the war.

"We were most reluctant at the outset to come into the war," he said. "But our people were more and more moved by the conviction that it was something more than a European struggle; that it was a struggle for the freedom of the world and the liberation of humanity, and when that conviction finally took hold, it was impossible that the United States should any longer remain out of the war."

Late this evening word came that Theodore Roosevelt had died suddenly in New York. The President was informed by a telegram sent to his car en route from Italy, and Colonel House and the other American delegates gave feeling tribute to the great American who had just passed and who had been such an unyielding opponent and critic of the President and his policies. By direction of the President, received later, all of the American flags in Paris are to be half-masted as a mark of honor to the deceased ex-President.

* * *

Jan. 7. The President returned this morning from his Italian trip, flushed with the popular triumph and thoroughly worn out physically from five days of intense ac-

tivity with vast crowds. His health guardian, Admiral Grayson, has ordered two days of complete rest. This cancels the visit to King Albert at Brussels. It also cancels a number of social functions, which are beginning to pall on the President. He feels that he came here to do a big work, to make peace, and to reconstruct Europe. But he is having the greatest trouble in bringing together the peace makers; they elude him and put off the day of opening. He is showered with invitations to banquets and ceremonies, and is well-nigh worn out from the steady drain on his physical resources. Now he proposes to rest until some of the peace-makers put in an appearance and begin to do real work instead of offering banquets.

The President's return coincides with the arrival of Lord Robert Cecil, the special delegate of the British government on the League of Nations. Leon Bourgeois, the French special delegate on the League of Nations, is also on the ground. So that with the chief figures assembled, the preliminary exchanges have begun to give concrete form to this international league which seeks to establish enduring peace. Two British plans have now been privately presented—one from Lord Robert Cecil and another from General Smuts, of the South African Confederation, who is coming with Lloyd George.

Leon Bourgeois' French plan has also taken definite form, one of the features being an international military force which will enforce the findings of the League. The American specialists have been very busy preparing their tentative draft as a groundwork for the President, who will take the real lead and make the final decision. The first American draft proposed to include all nations, with

safeguards against the formation of any balance of power. Care is taken also to balance the great and small nations, giving each an influence in accordance with its size and importance. Another important feature provides that highly organized nations shall be given the trusteeship or mandate from the League of Nations, over backward, undeveloped communities, so as to foster their progress and development.

While these calculations on the British, French and American drafts of the President's policy, the League, are going on, the President himself seems to have a very hazy idea of the practical details of the project. He talked freely within the last few days, indicating that his ideas were still very general and nebulous on the concrete provision of the League. He continued to treat it as a lofty ideal or principle on which he has not yet formed any precise views as to the details of practical application. He remarked that it would perhaps be better to "let things take their course" until the practical details "take form out of the common counsel" which is beginning to be held. One friendly observer of the President got the impression, in talking with him, that he was "drifting." But it may be that other adroit form of statesmanship, opportunism, or watchful waiting, which has served him well on other occasions.

* * *

Jan. 8. Secretary Lansing says the President will hold the first formal conference with the Premiers—Lloyd George, Clemenceau, and Orlando—at the end of the present week. This will be the first gathering of the Council of Four, or, as it is being called, the "Big Four." Antici-

pating this meeting, the Americans are trying to get the drafts ready for the League of Nations. Lord Robert Cecil came to the American headquarters today for the first conference on the League, Secretary Lansing and Colonel House joining him in an examination of the British, French, and American projects.

Mr. Lansing also made known today that Japan is likely to be definitely recognized in the Peace Conference as one of the Great Powers, having a voice in the affairs of Europe and the rest of the world, on an equality with Great Britain, France, Italy and the United States. She will have the same number of delegates as the other Great Powers, and will be represented in the executive council which will direct the general affairs of the Conference.

CHAPTER X

DELEGATIONS NAMED—A VISITOR FROM WASHINGTON—THE PRESIDENT AND MR. LANSING

Jan. 9. At a council of ministers held at the Elysée Palace today under President Poincaré, the French delegation to the Peace Conference was at last officially designated. There is one change in the list as originally made up, Jules Cambon taking the place of Leon Bourgeois. The full delegation, as now constituted, is Clemenceau, Pichon, Klotz, Tardieu, and Cambon. This is a very strong delegation representing the political, diplomatic, financial and economic ability of France. It shows the French will be strongly represented in the game about to be played—much stronger than the United States. Clemenceau is the political general; Pichon and Cambon are the diplomatic forces; Klotz is the master of French finance, and Tardieu is the shrewd commercial trader.

This begins the naming of delegations of the Great Powers, the American delegation having been here alone so far for almost a month. England, Italy and Japan will follow suit. It will take a long time for the Japanese to get here, but meantime their ambassadors at Paris and London are to look after their interests. The heads of the British and Italian delegations are of course known. But none of these governments has as yet actually made its ap-

pointments. The five Great Powers, each represented by five delegates, are in reality the controlling force of the Peace Conference, with the President and Premiers as the inside directing force of the delegations.

Clemenceau came to the American headquarters today for a long talk with the delegates, and later Premier Venizelos of Greece was in for a conference. The discussions with Lord Robert Cecil on the League plans also went on, and the various conferences began to give the Peace Congress the aspect of a live and going institution.

Raising the blockade of Germany, came up for the first time today. It is proposed not through any favor to Germany, but as a means of getting food relief into Poland and Czecho-Slovakia. The only way of reaching these inland regions is across German territory, the best route being from the German port of Danzig southward to Warsaw and Prague. This will require the raising of the blockade on some of the German ports of the Baltic, probably Danzig. The English hesitate, however, to raise the blockade, claiming that the food designated for Poland will be diverted into Germany. As the English are maintaining the naval patrol blockading these Baltic ports, they will have the final word as to raising the blockade.

The French Foreign Office late today issued the first protocol giving the program for organizing the Peace Conference. It assigns five delegates for each of the great powers—England, France, the United States, Italy and Japan—three for Belgium, Greece, and Serbia; two for Portugal, Brazil, Roumania and China, all of which declared war; two for Poland and Czecho-Slovakia; and one each for the countries which broke relations with the cen-

tral powers but did not declare war. This will make a conference of about seventy members.

* * *

Senator Owen is here on the larger financial questions connected with the war and the peace settlement. He is chairman of the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency, and is the author of the Federal Reserve Act. He has been conferring with the Governors of the Bank of England, and is now here conferring with the President and the American delegates.

Senator Owen is against imposing such a heavy indemnity on Germany that it will crush the country. Any such move as that, he says, will create another feud like that of Alsace-Lorraine and bring on more war.

"It will be like planting a bomb with a time fuse," said the Senator, "and after a while the bomb will go off and shatter all Europe."

To illustrate his point on being just to the defeated enemy, the Senator recited an original poem he had jotted down in his leisure moments. It was called "The Repentance of Judas Iscariot," and, given with the Senator's deep, actor-like voice, it was a most dramatic recital. As it is a poem with a purpose, it should not be lost in the hurry of these passing events, so it is here set down:

THE REPENTANCE OF JUDAS ISCARIOT

A PARABLE

When Judas saw what he had done, he went
And threw the silver on the ground, before
The feet of those in high command, who had
Deceived him so, and would have none of it.

He rushed into the night with bursting heart
And straightway hanged himself in grief.
His soul, which left his body hanging there,
Flew out in space with sorrow and remorse.
At length there came a time, when Judas paused
And lifted up his eyes, and saw within
The doors of heav'n (the doors of heav'n are always wide
To them that have the eyes to see) the twelve
Apostles standing 'bout a table white
On which were bread and wine, the body and blood
Of Christ. When Judas saw he wept afresh
And cried, "O Lord, how worthless silver was
I did not know nor did I mean thee harm,
And when I found what I had done, I threw
The silver on the ground, and went in grief
And hanged myself. Remember, Lord, how weak,
How ignorant I was, how blind, O Lord!
How much misled by those in high command!"
And One there was, who came in robes of light
To Judas' side, and took him by the hand,
"My son, thy grief has purged thy soul of sin,
Which they who love me best can understand,
The twelve apostles know and knowing wait
In love, for thee and me to come, before
They sit in peace to eat the bread of life."

* * *

Jan. 10. Clemenceau was definitely announced today as temporary chairman of the Peace Conference when the opening session is held next week. Later on he will be named permanent chairman of the Congress. The choice of Clemenceau as presiding officer was at first construed as a rather decisive move by the elements opposed to the President. But it turns out that the President himself brought about the choice of Clemenceau, and will place his

name in nomination for the presidency when the opening session of the Conference is held. The French Premier had believed at the outset that President Wilson, being the only ruler of a State at the Conference, would feel he was entitled to act as President. The Premier even let this be known, and coming to the ears of Mr. Wilson, he wholeheartedly declared that he had no wish to act as presiding officer; that it was only right that Clemenceau, as Premier of the country entertaining the Conference, should be its chairman. This settled the procedure, and Clemenceau will direct the proceedings of the Conference.

* * *

Jan. 11. Jules Cambon, just appointed with Clemenceau as one of the French delegation, was seen today in his sick room on the upper floor of the Hotel Crillon. By strange mischance, the distinguished diplomatist is in the attic of the headquarters of the American delegates. When the Crillon was conducted as a private hotel, M. Cambon lived here comfortably. Then the Americans requisitioned the hotel as headquarters for their Peace delegation, and accordingly the private guests were turned out. Being ill at the time, M. Cambon could not be moved out of the hotel, but was sent upstairs to the attic. The American delegates occupied the palatial rooms downstairs. Once up in the attic, M. Cambon was almost forgotten, until, presto! he was named along with Clemenceau and Pichon as a French delegate to the Conference, ranking with the American delegates who are living in the palatial quarters downstairs. The Ambassador is much of a philosopher, however, and is quite contented with his location.

"And President Wilson," he said, when seen today, "why has he not visited the devastated regions of France so as to see our gaping wounds and know what we have suffered?"

When it was explained that the President had not yet had the time to go to the devastated regions, M. Cambon mused:

"Not had time! He has had time to go to London and to Rome. There has been time for banquets and entertainments. He should go to the devastated regions. It should not be a brief and passing visit. He should take sufficient time to know what France has suffered."

* * *

The first printed draft of the American proposal for the League of Nations made its appearance today. It is guarded as a very confidential document, and only those close to the President and Colonel House have been able to see it. I had a passing glimpse of it, and noted that the word "COVENANT" was printed in huge letters on the title page. So it is a real thing at last, in actual treaty form, with thirteen articles and eight supplementary provisos. And the President's wish is realized to have it christened a "COVENANT."

The Prince of Monaco was seen by appointment later in the day at his handsome establishment on the Avenue Trocadero. The Prince is a cousin of the German Emperor William, and has just completed a series of open letters addressed to his Imperial cousin. The letters, taken together, form a series of documents which will rival the disclosures of Prince Litchnowsky and Doctor Muehlon.

They give textually many of the letters written by Emperor William to the Prince of Monaco. The Prince also recites many conversations he had with the Kaiser, at Kiehl, Berlin and elsewhere, in which the Kaiser is quoted as foreseeing the war. The Prince says at one point:

"You will remember saying to me, my dear cousin, on the deck of the *Hohenzollern*, when the British fleet had come to salute you at Kiehl:

" 'If they compel me to go to war, the world will see what it has never seen before.' "

The Prince's letters are full of this detailed conversation with the Kaiser and Crown Prince, all bearing on the war.

* * *

The President came to American headquarters late in the day and remained two hours with the American delegation. He walked down from the Murat mansion. He wore a broad-brimmed black felt hat, with heavy overcoat, as it has turned cold. His two hours with the American delegates was given, first, to a consideration of the Russian situation, which is acute, and also to the draft of the League of Nations, which is a topic always uppermost in the mind of the President.

There is pressure to have the United States intervene in Russia to put down the Bolshevists. But there is no relish for this task, and a quiet tendency is developing inside the American delegation to open up communication with all elements concerned in Russia, including the Bolsheviks, so that the truth of the situation may be learned and more light shed on the subject. There is even talk of sending some one as a commissioner to Moscow. But Mr. Lansing

is against it, as he believes it would be worth the life of any one to attempt to go inside the Bolshevik lines.

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Although tomorrow is Sunday, there is such desire to get the Peace Conference under way that the Supreme Council is to hold its first session at three o'clock Sunday afternoon at the French Foreign Office. That the Conference begins its labors on Sunday may be cause for criticism from purists. But Colonel House says anything is better than more delay.

The Supreme Council is that august body made up of the President and Premiers of the Great Powers, with the Ministers of Foreign Affairs and the Military chiefs admitted on sufferance. During the war it was the Supreme War Council, under Marshal Foch, and ran the war, but now the chiefs of state have taken the place of the military in shaping the peace.

* * *

It is being noted that when the President comes to the American headquarters at the Crillon, he is usually in quest of Colonel House and not of Mr. Lansing or the other American delegates. As a rule he takes the elevator directly to Colonel House's quarters on the third floor, and seldom if ever stops on the main floor where Mr. Lansing and the others are located in the somewhat secluded elegance of the Crillon's mirrors and tapestries. Most of the President's conferences are held in the House quarters, and many of the appointments are arranged there of those who are to see the President. One of the Premiers who desired to confer with the President had the practical foresight of going first to Colonel House and arranging it.

CHAPTER XI

SIGNS OF LIFE—SUPREME COUNCIL MEETS

Jan. 12. The Peace Conference showed the first real sign of life today when, after the President and American delegation has been here a full month, the Supreme Council held its first meeting to set the stage for the sessions of the Conference soon to open. The meeting today was chiefly interesting for its distinguished personnel of Presidents, Prime Ministers, Foreign Ministers and Field Marshals, who for the first time found themselves together in a formal assemblage. It was a dark raw day and the statesmen came in their heavy wraps. The usual Sunday calm beyond the Seine was broken by this prospect of seeing a notable company, and a great crowd was massed along the Quay d'Orsay fronting the Foreign Office.

Marshal Foch, always punctual, was one of the earliest arrivals. He walked over from his home on the rue de l'Université, smoking a cigar and chatting with one of his staff officers. The Generalissimo was in heavy field coat, with boots and spurs, but with little insignia of high rank beyond the oak leaves around his military cap. He was most obliging to the battery of movie-men who trained their cameras on him like so many machine guns. Finding himself ahead of time, the Marshal sat down in the vestibule and smoked while the others gathered. Secretary Lansing was one of the first to join him. The Secretary

alighted from his big army limousine, wearing a silk hat and the conventional frock suit of diplomacy, and accompanied by his military aide.

A striking picture was presented as the three foremost men in British public life drove up together: the Prime Minister, Rt. Hon. David Lloyd George, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Rt. Hon. Arthur J. Balfour, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Rt. Hon. Andrew Bonar Law. The Prime Minister is of short and sturdy build, with round and ruddy face and gray hair. He was in gray clothes and wore a bowler hat—quite an unconventional attire for such supreme surroundings, on Sunday. The tall gaunt figures of Balfour and Bonar Law loomed up beside him on either side. Balfour had a soft felt hat pushed on the back of his head, and he was evidently continuing the unconventional attire of war days. All three were in happy mood and seemed to have come from a generous dinner. They were soon followed by General Sir Henry Wilson and Admiral Wemyss, British military and naval representatives on the Supreme War Council.

In the French group were Premier Clemenceau, the Minister of Marine Leygues, the Minister of Commerce Clementel, the Minister of Finance Klotz, the Minister of Reconstruction Loucheur, with MM. Pichon, Jules Cambon and Tardieu of the French delegation. With them were the military and naval chiefs, headed by Marshal Foch and Admiral le Bon, chief of the naval staff.

President Wilson motored up with Admiral Grayson shortly before the session opened. There was a cheer as he passed the crowd along the quay, and he smiled and bowed repeatedly as he came up to the entrance of the For-

eign Office. Like Lansing, the President was in silk hat and frock suit, while all the other assembled statesmen had apparently worn their most informal attire. The President carried under his arm a large black leather portfolio. Besides the President and the Secretary of State, the American forces included General Pershing and General Bliss, Admiral Benson, naval adviser of the President and Colonel House throughout the armistice and peace negotiations, and Henry White of the American delegation. Later on the President called in Messrs. Hoover of the Food Relief organization, Hurley of the American shipping board, and Baruch of the Industrial board. A notable absentee was Colonel House, who had been taken suddenly and seriously ill last night.

The meeting was in the private office of M. Pichon, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and lasted about an hour, the main decision being that the Peace Conference shall be inaugurated at once, within the coming week, probably next Saturday. President Wilson was particularly desirous to proceed at once, and in this he had the full support of Lloyd George and Clemenceau. The decision on the exact day and hour of the opening is left until tomorrow when the Council of the Great Powers will meet at the Foreign Office to perfect the preliminary organization.

* * *

Jan. 13. Japan achieved a notable success today, when the Council of the Great Powers decided that the time had come to admit that country on terms of equality into the Council of Great Powers which are now directing the affairs of the world. The decision was reached shortly before the Council met at three o'clock this afternoon at the

Quay d'Orsay, and the two Japanese representatives, Count Chinda, the ambassador at London, and M. Matsui, the ambassador at Paris, were present for the opening of the afternoon session. The question was in doubt up to a very short time before the meeting began, and Mr. Lansing said at noon that it was doubtful whether Japan would be admitted.

It was conceded on all hands that Japan had long occupied the place of a great power, both politically and in a military sense. But Japan had never before entered the Council of the Great Powers on terms of equality for the consideration of Europe's internal questions, and possibly, later on, with a voice as to America. It is understood that the Japanese settled the doubts by turning to Lloyd George, who used the telephone so actively with the President and Clemenceau that the decision was reached and the two Japanese ambassadors were welcomed into the august Council. They showed their keen satisfaction as they arrived at the Foreign Office, smiling and affable, and were joined by Lloyd George and Balfour as they went into M. Pichon's office.

There were two distinct sessions of the Council today. The first was in the morning, with Marshal Foch and the other military commanders present, and was a continuation of the military council yesterday. This brought about a settlement on the terms of the new German Armistice, the old one expiring four days hence on Friday. The new terms are very severe, requiring a partial disarmament of Germany, and in case of emergency the occupation of the Ruhr district where Essen, the great German arsenal, is located. Foch is showing very little moderation toward

Germany. He also brought forward plans for a military expedition to Poland, but this met some opposition and was deferred.

* * *

The Council has been discussing with much animation M. Pichon's proposal that French shall be the official language of the Peace Conference. While the sessions are secret, yet it is possible to take a glimpse behind the scenes and hear what is said. President Wilson had not concurred in the plan to make French the official language, and had pointed out that English has now become the language of the greater part of the world. The discussion ran like this:

President Wilson—For instance, the official language of the East is English, and diplomatic documents are in that language. That is not a matter of discrimination, but of generality of use. It seems to me that a language which is the official language of the greater part of the world should be the official language of the Conference. I do not, however, propose that French should be excluded. I ask only that it be considered in a preferential manner, as compared with Italian.

M. Clemenceau—I admit that I am considerably embarrassed. Nevertheless I have the greatest desire to give each language its full right. Consequently, if English is admitted, it would not be right to exclude Italian. I will therefore ask that there be three official languages, French, English and Italian, and if a question of interpretation should ever arise, the French text will rule.

Mr. Lloyd George—This would make French the offi-

cial language, or, as President Wilson suggests, the standard language.

Mr. Balfour—Will M. Clemenceau be good enough to submit his proposition in writing.

M. Pichon submitted the proposal in writing, and it was finally adopted, but not until after another discussion, in which President Wilson participated, on the relative merits of languages. In the course of this he said:

President Wilson—I think it of interest to remind those present that in treaties between the United States and France the text is in English and French. The Senate of the United States approves the English text. Therefore, so far as the United States is concerned, the English text rules. Should there be a disagreement, the matter would be discussed and an agreement reached between the two governments.

M. Clemenceau—I might observe that if so much importance is attached to such small matters, it is truly a bad beginning for the society of the League of Nations.

President Wilson—I am extremely sorry that this aspect has been given to the question. I do not like to leave a question of this sort where it now rests, and I suggest that the delegates think the matter over, sleep on it, and take it up at the next meeting.

This was done, and M. Clemenceau's proposal was later adopted.

* * *

At the afternoon session, the military commanders were not present, and for the first time the gathering took on the aspect of a Council of the Great Powers, each of the five Great Powers being represented by its chief of state and its

minister of foreign affairs, with the exception of Japan, which is represented by the ambassadors until higher officials can arrive from Tokio. The chiefs of state thus gathered were President Wilson, the British prime minister Lloyd George, the president of the French Council, M. Clemenceau, the Italian premier, Señor Orlando; and the foreign ministers were: for the United States, Mr. Lansing; France, M. Pichon; Italy, Baron Sonnino; and Great Britain, Mr. Balfour. These with the two Japanese ambassadors formed the Council of the Great Powers or the Council of Ten, which is now to shape the work of the Peace Conference.

The chief decision reached today was that the opening session of the Peace Conference would be held next Saturday at three o'clock at the Foreign Office. The rules are being drawn up, the list of delegates and the officials designated, so that at last the long delays over giving reality to the work of peace are drawing to a close.

* * *

Jan. 14. The British colonies—Canada, Australia, South Africa and India—have been allotted two delegates each in the Peace Conference, and New Zealand and Newfoundland are to have one each. This decision of the Council of the Great Powers today in effect gives the British Empire fifteen delegates in the Conference, while each of the other great powers, including the United States, has an allotment of five delegates. This is explained and justified on the ground that the colonies have a governmental organization entirely separate from the mother country. It is maintained also that Canada and Australia

have done quite as much in furnishing men and material, and winning the war, as have Roumania, Greece, Cuba and Panama, which also have an allotment of two delegates.

The President takes the view that it is really in the interest of the United States to have the British colonies act independent of Great Britain, since their interests, particularly of Canada and Newfoundland, lie pretty closely alongside those of the United States. The allotment to the British colonies is therefore meeting with no opposition from the American delegation, which approves it as a reasonable and just measure.

I had an opportunity to talk with one of the members of the Council as he walked home from the meeting this evening, and he told how informally the sessions were proceeding. The members are sitting about in M. Pichon's office, much as they would in the lounging room of a club. There is no speechmaking, and everything thus far has proceeded so smoothly that it gives promise of very harmonious understandings when the difficult problems are reached. Mr. Wilson has done considerable talking thus far, and has been listened to with great interest, but he has talked in an easy, conversational way without any declamation.

* * *

Jan. 15. Open diplomacy, of which so much has been heard and which is one of the first of the Fourteen Points, received a very rude shock today when the Council of the Great Powers reached a decision that their proceedings were to be veiled in absolute secrecy, and that the first plenary session of the Peace Conference next Saturday

will be a star session affair, with only the delegates present, and no representatives of the press admitted. Each of the ten members of the Council was personally put on his word of honor not to divulge any of the proceedings of the Conference. All that the public is to get is a formal communiqué issued at the close of the session each day, summing up such bare outlines as the members may wish to have reach the public. This is a strange reversion to old-time secret diplomacy after all that has been heard about open diplomacy, and the decision is sure to provoke a storm of adverse criticism.

* * *

It is desirable now to draw aside for a moment the thick curtain of secrecy which envelops all the meetings of the Supreme Council. Paradoxical as it may seem, the Council has been considering "open diplomacy" in secret session, and while the proceedings are closely veiled it is possible to give textual extracts from the minutes. At the session today there was this exchange:

President Wilson—I would like to ask whether there would be any objection, owing to the likelihood of leaks, to having the representatives of the press present at the Peace Conference, as practically nothing will be discussed in that large session, at which any statement will be little more than a public statement of what has been decided beforehand. For my part I would prefer complete publicity to publicity by leak.

Mr. Balfour—The suggestion that the press be present at the Conference is open to this *prima facie* objection, viz., that if this is carried out the meetings will become purely formal. Moreover if the press be present at the large Con-

ferences, then it will be necessary to bring the other powers, say the Czecho-Slovaks, into the small conferences.

PRESIDENT WILSON—I assume that it will hardly be possible to discuss cases such as this in the large Conferences. Moreover, the Czecho-Slovaks could hardly do more than repeat at the large Conference what they have already given to the world. The determination as to what will be proposed by the Great Powers at the large Conference will be decided by the Great Powers beforehand.

M. PICHON—I remark that should the press be admitted to the Peace Conference there will be no end of speaking.

MR. LLOYD GEORGE—I venture to express the hope that President Wilson will not press the suggestion. I fear there will be no end to the Conference if reporters are present. Small nations will want to speak at great length. Moreover, as Mr. Balfour has pointed out, this might result in very unpleasant incidents, for instance, between Serbia and Montenegro.

M. PICHON—It is to be observed, too, that in the study of the preliminaries of peace, it will be dangerous to give the enemy too much information on the points on which there is any difficulty or particular discussion between the Great Powers.

M. CLEMENCEAU—I feel we must be unanimous in what we do. There will be much that I will accept to maintain our unanimity. I will make sacrifices. If I go to the Conference I will say nothing that might tend to divide it, but if one small power that has not been heard in our conversations asks how France has come to accept a certain provision, then I will have to reply, and do not forget that this reply will then be made before the public.

Baron Sonnino—Small powers will be obliged to make large speeches.

President Wilson—I raised the point for discussion, but will not press it.

CHAPTER XII

AMERICA'S PART IN EUROPE'S PROBLEMS—GLIMPSES BEHIND THE SCENES

EUROPE'S war problems are assuming a more gigantic aspect each day as their real study proceeds in the Supreme Council, which now sits daily behind closely guarded doors at the Foreign Office. There are not only the immediate near-home problems to be faced, but also the collateral ones like Russia's break-up and the Bolshevist menace, the gathering tension over the Adriatic, and the frontier wrangles among the new powers in central Europe. President Wilson is taking a leading part in the discussion of these problems; he is speaking with great earnestness and is offering solutions so definite in character that European diplomacy is disposed to accept this new guidance, backed as it is with the President's strong convictions and with the belief in America's energy and determination in carrying things through. This and the preparations for the ceremonious opening of the Peace Conference next Saturday are now absorbing all attention.

Jan. 16. The President spent two hours at the Foreign Office this morning while the Council of the Great Powers was in session. As the meeting was in progress in M. Pichon's office, one of the officials of the foreign office was kind enough to give me a climpse of the Salle de la Paix where the Peace Conference will begin its sessions on Sat-

urday. It is one of the most splendid reception rooms in Europe. As one enters, the dominating statue of Peace bearing aloft the torch of Civilization stands out above the monumental mantel at the further side of the chamber. This figure of Peace is just back of the chair where Clemenceau will preside, and it seems to have been placed there by fate to look down on and exercise a controlling influence on this peace deliberation. The room is in white and gold with rich red silk hangings and a rococo ceiling in which cupids dance along the frieze.

The council table where the peace delegates will sit is in the form of a huge horse-shoe, with nine seats of honor at the head, and fifteen seats at each of the four sides of the horse-shoe, within and without, making in all sixty-nine seats. The chairs are of bright red leather, and on the table before each chair is a complete equipment of writing materials. The table cover is of green baize—the traditional green table of diplomacy. Four huge luster chandeliers hang from the ceiling with a myriad of crystal prisms, and five large windows look out on the Seine and throw a flood of light over the beautiful room.

Just off this main council chamber there is a retiring room for the delegates, looking out on the gardens of the Foreign Office. At one side I noted a large table which looked as though it might serve as a buffet to refresh the delegates during their labor. Further on was the state dining room, another splendid apartment, where luncheon or dinner may be served during protracted sessions of the Conference. The entire suite bears the stamp of elegance, beauty, and French artistic taste.

While we were noting the beauties of the magnificent

room, the meeting of the Council broke up and I found myself among the statesmen as they strolled from M. Pichon's office and gathered in groups in the Salle des Ambassadeurs. The President was with Lloyd George and Balfour, talking very earnestly and with emphatic gestures, while they did the listening. Lloyd George stopped as he came out to admire an antique sword lying on the huissier's desk. Thereupon one of the French journalists, recalling the press agitation against the Council's secret diplomacy, laid his fountain-pen beside the sword and remarked to the Prime Minister:

"The pen is mightier than the sword."

The Prime Minister seemed to quite accord with the suggestion, for he nodded and chuckled in approval, and whispered the information that it had been decided to ask the press of the allied and associated countries to hold a meeting this afternoon to express their wishes in regard to the plenary sessions of the conference which are about to begin. This indicates that the protest, following the announcement of secret diplomacy, has had its effect on the Council, which is preparing to capitulate.

* * *

The Supreme Council held its first discussion today of the serious problems of Europe, beginning with Russia, with President Wilson and Lloyd George taking the leading part. The session was secret of course, as are all these sessions, but it is possible to raise the curtain momentarily to see what is going on behind the scenes. It discloses that Lloyd George proposed to deal with the Bolsheviki by what he called "a truce of God," as he was satisfied Denikine and the rest could not deal with them, as Denikine occupied

only "a little back-yard near the Black Sea." President Wilson, while having no sympathy with the brutal aspects of Bolshevism, yet pointed out that there was impatience everywhere over the "domination of large vested interests in the political and economic world." The following is a textual extract from the discussion:

MR. LLOYD GEORGE—I wish to point out that there has been a serious misconception on the part of the French Government as to the character of the proposal made by the British Government. The British proposal did not contemplate in any sense whatever a recognition of the Bolsheviki Government, nor a suggestion that Bolshevik delegates be invited to attend this Conference. The British proposal was to invite all of the different governments now at war within what used to be the Russian Empire to a truce of God; to stop reprisals and outrages and to send men here to give, so to speak, an account of themselves. The Great Powers would then try to find a way to bring some order out of chaos. These men were not to be delegates to the Peace Conference, and I agree with the French Government entirely that they should not be made members of the Peace Conference.

MR. LLOYD GEORGE then set forth the reasons which had led the British Government to make a proposal as to Russia. The reasons were as follows:

Firstly, the real facts are not known.

Secondly, if it is impossible to get the facts, the only way is to adjudicate the question.

Thirdly, conditions in Russia are very bad; there is general misgovernment and starvation. It is not known who is obtaining the upper hand, but the hope that the Bolshevik

Government will collapse has not been realized. In fact there is one report that the Bolsheviki are stronger than ever, that their internal position is strong, and that their hold on the people is stronger.

Mr. Lloyd George stated that there seemed to be three possible policies:

1. Military intervention. It is true that the Bolsheviki movement is as dangerous to civilization as German militarism, but as to putting it down by the sword, is there anyone who proposes it? It would mean holding a certain number of vast provinces in Russia. If he now proposed to send a thousand British troops to Russia for that purpose, the armies would mutiny. The same applies to United States troops in Siberia; also to Canadians and French as well. The mere idea of crushing Bolshevism by a military force is pure madness. Even admitting that it is done, who is to occupy Russia? No one can conceive or undertake to bring about order by force.

2. A cordon. This second suggestion is to besiege Bolshevik Russia * * * this is not a health cordon, it is a death cordon. It would not result in the starvation of the Bolsheviki; it would simply mean the death of our friends. The cordon policy is one which, as humane people, we cannot consider.

Mr. Lloyd George asked who was there to overthrow the Bolsheviki. He had been told there were three men, Denikine, Kolchak and Knox * * * if the Allies counted on any of these men he believed they were building on quicksand. He had heard a lot of talk about Denikine, but when he looked on the map he found that Denikine was occupying a little back yard near the Black Sea. More-

over from information received it would appear that Kolchak had been collecting members of the old régime around him, and would seem to be at heart a monarchist.

Mr. Lloyd George said the third alternative was the British proposal, which was to summon these people to Paris to appear before those present, somewhat in the way that the Roman Empire summoned chiefs of outlying tributary states to render an account of their actions. He said certain objections had been raised to bringing Bolsheviki delegates to Paris. It had been claimed that they would convert France and England to Bolshevism. If England becomes Bolshevist, it will not be because a single Bolshevist representative is permitted to enter England. On the other hand, if a military enterprise were started against the Bolsheviki, that would make England Bolshevist, and there would be a soviet in London.

Mr. Lloyd George said in conclusion: For my part I am not afraid of Bolshevism if the facts are known to England and the United States. The same applies to Germany. I am convinced that an educated democracy can be always trusted to turn down Bolshevism. Under the circumstances I see no better way out than to follow the third alternative. Let the Great Powers impose their conditions and summon these people to Paris to give an account of themselves to the Great Powers, not to the Peace Conference.

President Wilson—I do not see how it is possible to controvert the statement of Mr. Lloyd George. I think that there is a force behind his discussion which was, no doubt, in his mind, but which it might be desirable to bring out a little more definitely. I do not believe that there would be sympathy anywhere with the brutal aspect of Bolshevism.

If it were not for the fact of the domination of large vested interests in the political and economic world, (while it may be true that this evil is in process of discussion and slow reform), it must be admitted that the general body of men have grown impatient at the failure to bring about the necessary reform. There are many men who represent large vested interests in the United States, who see the necessity for these reforms and desire something which should be worked out at the Peace Conference, namely the establishment of some machinery to provide for the opportunity of the individual greater than the world has ever known. Capital and labor in the United States are not friends. Still they are not enemies in the sense that they are thinking of resorting to physical force to settle their differences. But they are distrustful, each of the other. Society cannot go on on that plane. On the one hand, there is a minority possessing capital and brains; on the other, a majority consisting of the great bodies of workers who are essential to the minority, but who do not trust the minority, and feel that the minority will never render them their rights. A way must be found to put trust and cooperation between these two.

PRESIDENT WILSON pointed out that the whole world was disturbed by this question before the Bolsheviki came into power. Seeds need soil, and the Bolsheviki seeds found the soil already prepared for them.

PRESIDENT WILSON—I would not be surprised to find that the reason why British and United States troops would not be ready to enter Russia to fight the Bolsheviki was explained by the fact that the troops were not at all sure that if they put down Bolshevism they would not bring about a

reestablishment of the ancient order. For example, in making a speech recently to a well-dressed audience in New York who were not expected to show such feeling, I referred casually to Russia, stating that the United States would do its utmost to aid her suppressed people. The audience exhibited the greatest enthusiasm, and this has remained in my mind as an index to where the sympathies of the New World are.

PRESIDENT WILSON said he concurred with Mr. Lloyd George's view and supported his recommendations that the third line of procedure be adopted. He added: I think that the British proposal contains the only suggestions that lead anywhere. It may lead nowhere. But this can at least be found out.

* * *

Open diplomacy was also again discussed briefly at the secret session of the Supreme Council this morning. The minutes show the following exchange:

PRESIDENT WILSON—I suggest the complete publicity of all that happens.

MR. LLOYD GEORGE—This seems inadvisable, as regards the small meetings.

PRESIDENT WILSON—I would like to inquire whether publicity is not practicable in the case of the large conferences.

MR. LLOYD GEORGE—It seems to me this is a small matter, for what the press wants is publicity regarding what takes place at the small meetings.

A decision was not reached and the subject went over.

* * *

Jan. 17. The President, premiers, and foreign minis-

ters made the final arrangements for the opening of the Peace Conference tomorrow. Belgium and Serbia, after heated protests, get three delegates each instead of two. The King of Hedjaz, Arabia, also gets two delegates, and Portugal is allotted two instead of one. The embryo states about to be formed out of the wreck of Austria and Central Europe are also given delegates—two for Czecho-Slovakia and two for Poland. Brazil's three and the British colonies' two each stand as first arranged. These with the small powers, and those which broke relations but did not go to war, make a total of seventy-two delegates.

"Open diplomacy" has apparently carried the day, as the press is to be admitted to the opening ceremonial tomorrow. This is a notable concession on the part of the august Council of the Great Powers, which recognized that a serious mistake had been made. The American and British press stood solidly together for open diplomacy, but under the influence of Clemenceau and old-world tradition, the French and Italian press did not join in the demand for open sessions.

But the success of "open diplomacy" is more apparent than real. The sessions which are to be thus "open" are the mere ceremonials. But the real work is in councils, committees and conferences, always behind closed doors. The gathering of the Supreme Council, the Council of the Great Powers, and the Council of Premiers, or "Big Four," are all distinctly "closed," and it is in these councils that the fine work of diplomacy takes form, leaving only the ceremonial of concurrence for the "open" session. So that, after all, the Peace Conference is well on the way to the abandonment of the first of the Fourteen Points: "Open

covenants, openly arrived at; diplomacy shall always proceed openly and in the public view."

* * *

The minutes of the secret session of the Supreme Council today disclose the limitations under which open diplomacy is to operate. There was another discussion, when the following resolution was adopted:

"Representatives of the press will be admitted to the meetings of the full Conference, but upon necessary occasions the deliberations of the Conference may be held *in camera.*"

During the discussion there was this exchange:

MR. LLOYD GEORGE—It is therefore understood that the conferences between those present (the Supreme Council) and the representatives of the Small Powers are to be considered in the category of private conversations.

PRESIDENT WILSON—I understand that to be the decision.

MR. LLOYD GEORGE—The distinction, then, is one of rooms: Conferences in the large room (the Salle de la Paix where the plenary sessions are to be held) are to be open, except in cases where it is desirable to consider a certain subject *in camera:* Conferences in the small room (M. Pichon's private office where the Supreme Council meets) are to be private.

PRESIDENT WILSON confirmed this as his understanding, and added that in the slang of the day it would not be possible for them to know just "where we are at."

Another lengthy resolution was adopted on the general subject of open diplomacy, and its necessary limitations. This was first drafted by Mr. Lloyd George, and later amended by President Wilson, and concluded as follows:

"There will often be very strong reasons against announcing the conclusions of the conversations as they are arrived at. Representatives of a nation may be willing to give their assent on one point only provided they receive a concession on another point which has not yet been discussed. It will not be possible to judge of the wisdom and justice of the Peace settlement until it can be viewed as a whole, and premature announcements might lead to misapprehensions and anxiety as to the ultimate results for which there was no real foundation.

"In calling attention to these necessary limitations on publicity, the representatives of the Powers do not underrate the importance of carrying public opinion with them in the vast task by which they are confronted. They recognize that unless public opinion approved of the results of their labors they will be nugatory.

"This reasoning applies with conclusive force to the present conversations between the representatives of the Great Powers."

Then follows the resolution admitting the press to the "full Conference," where, as had been explained in the discussion, there would be "little more than what had been decided beforehand."

* * *

The French Protocol issued a special communiqué tonight giving the "Peace Conference Rules and Regulations," as they will be adopted tomorrow. They are curious in drawing a sharp line between the Great Powers and the Small Powers, the former with "general interests" which admit them to "all sittings and commissions"; the latter with "particular interests" which admit them only

when "questions concerning them are discussed." The essential parts of the rules are as follows:

I. The Conference assembled to fix the conditions of peace, first in the preliminaries of peace, and then in the definite treaty of peace, shall include the representatives of the belligerent Allied and Associated Powers.

The belligerent Powers with general interests (United States of America, British Empire, Italy, France, and Japan) *shall take part in all sittings and commissions.*

The belligerent powers with particular interests (Belgium, Brazil, British Dominions and India, China, Cuba, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Hedjaz, Honduras, Liberia, Nicaragua, Panama, Poland, Portugal, Roumania, Serbia, Siam, and the Czechoslovak Republic) *shall take part in the sittings at which questions concerning them are discussed.*

II. The Powers shall be represented by plenipotentiary delegates to the number of:

5 for the United States of America, the British Empire, France, Italy and Japan;
3 for Belgium, Brazil and Serbia;
2 for China, Greece, the King of Hedjaz, Poland, Portugal, Roumania, Siam, and the Czechoslovak Republic;
1 for Cuba, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Liberia, Nicaragua, and Panama;
1 for Bolivia, Ecuador, Peru and Uruguay.

The British Dominions and India shall be represented as follows:

2 delegates each for Australia, Canada, South Africa, and India (including the native States);
1 delegate for New Zealand.

The conditions of the representation of Russia shall be

fixed by the Conference at the moment when the matters concerning Russia are examined.

* * *

It is well to note that in the Conference which is about to frame peace treaties and regulate international affairs, the representation and voting strength as thus stated in the protocol is:

5 for the United States of America;

14 for the British Empire, British Dominions and India, viz.: British Empire, 5; Australia, Canada, South Africa and India, 2 each; New Zealand, 1.

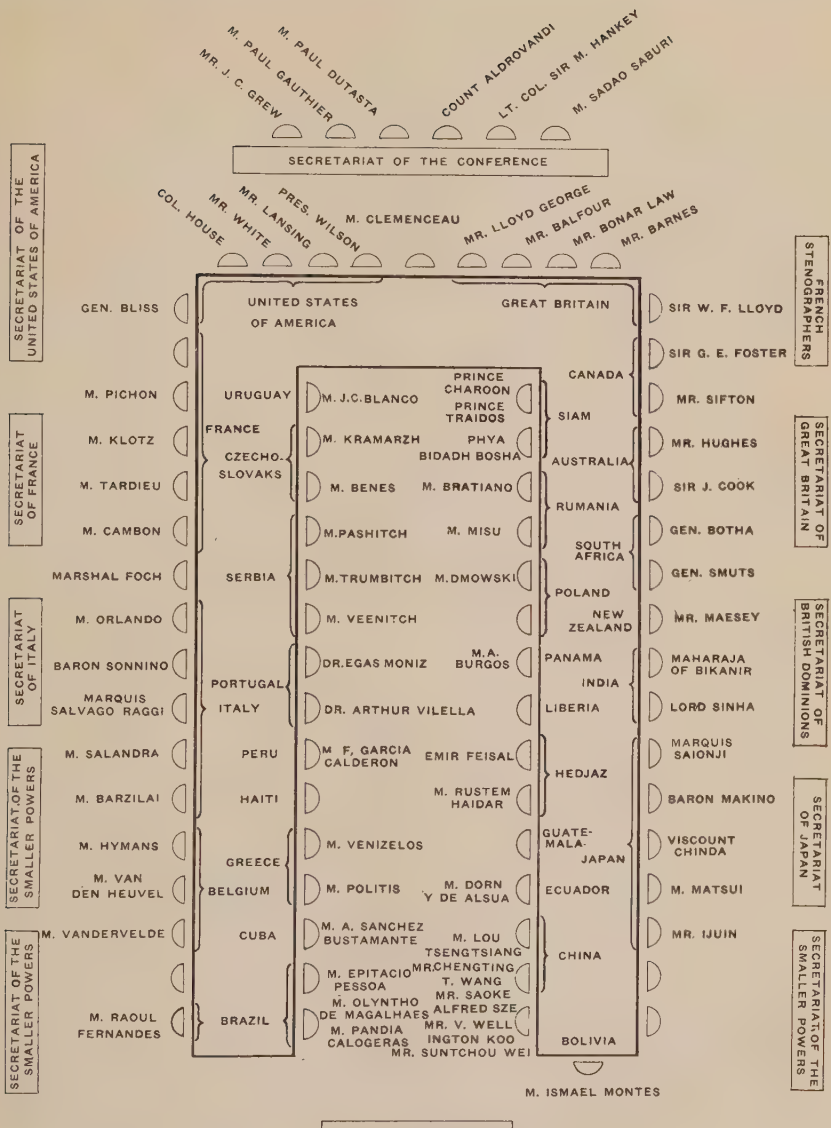
This is a numerical arrangement on the opening of a huge international game which would seem to place one of the parties in a highly advantageous position in shaping the results. It is an arrangement likely to attract the attention of the American Senate when it passes on these results.

CHAPTER XIII

AT LAST, THE PEACE CONFERENCE

Jan. 18. The Peace Conference, long heralded and long awaited, was at last launched on its course in an impressive ceremonial held at the beautiful Salle de la Paix of the French Foreign Office at three o'clock this afternoon. It was chiefly interesting as a spectacle in which the world-statesmen gathered for the first time on the momentous work of peace and reconstruction before them. But besides the spectacular effect, there were these definite accomplishments of the day: President Poincaré welcomed the conference to France in a moving speech which sounded the tragedies of war and the glories of peace. President Wilson made his début as a speaker before the Conference in an eloquent tribute to Clemenceau, placing the French premier in nomination as permanent presiding officer of the Conference. Lloyd George, Orlando, Baron Sonnino, and some of the lesser figures also made their bow as speakers.

It was a stirring scene, as the presidents, premiers, and ministers gathered in the great council chamber with the figure of Peace occupying its dominating position back of the chairman's seat. While there were two presidents—Poincaré and Wilson, nine premiers, and numberless foreign ministers, yet the Congress bore the distinct stamp of democracy. In this it was in marked contrast with the


M. PAUL DUTASTA
M. PAUL GAUTHIER
MR. J. C. GREW
COUNT ALDROVANDI
LT. COL. SIR M. HANKEY
M. SADAO SABURI
SECRETARIAT OF THE CONFERENCE
SECRETARIAT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
COL. HOUSE
MR. WHITE
MR. LANSING
PRES. WILSON
M. CLEMENCEAU
MR. LLOYD GEORGE
MR. BALFOUR
MR. BONAR LAW
MR. BARNES
FRENCH STENOGRAPHERS
SECRETARIAT OF FRANCE
SECRETARIAT OF ITALY
SECRETARIAT OF THE SMALLER POWERS
SECRETARIAT OF THE SMALLER POWERS
SECRETARIAT OF GREAT BRITAIN
SECRETARIAT OF BRITISH DOMINIONS
SECRETARIAT OF JAPAN
SECRETARIAT OF THE SMALLER POWERS
GEN. BLISS
M. PICHON
M. KLOTZ
M. TARDIEU
M. CAMBON
MARSHAL FOCH
M. ORLANDO
BARON SONNINO
MARQUIS SALVAGO RAGGI
M. SALANDRA
M. BARZILAI
M. HYMANS
M. VAN DEN HEUVEL
M. VANDERVELDE
M. RAOUL FERNANDES
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
GREAT BRITAIN
URUGUAY
FRANCE
CZECHO-SLOVAKS
SERBIA
PORTUGAL
ITALY
PERU
HAITI
GREECE
BELGIUM
CUBA
BRAZIL
M. J.C. BLANCO
M. KRAMARZH
M. BENES
M. PASHITCH
M. TRUMBITCH
M. VEENITCH
DR. EGAS MONIZ
DR. ARTHUR VILELLA
M. F. GARCIA CALDERON
M. VENIZELOS
M. POLITIS
M. A. SANCHEZ BUSTAMANTE
M. EPITACIO PESSOA
M. OLYNTHO DE MAGALHAES
M. PANDIA CALOGERAS
PRINCE CHAROON
PRINCE TRAIDOS
PHYA BIDADH BOSHA
M. BRATIANO
M. MISU
M. DMOWSKI
M. A. BURGOS
EMIR FEISAL
M. RUSTEM HAIDAR
M. DORN Y DE ALSUA
M. LOU TSENGTSIANG
MR. CHENGTING T. WANG
MR. SAOKE ALFRED SZE
MR. V. WELLINGTON KOO
MR. SUNTCHOU WEI
CANADA
SIAM
AUSTRALIA
RUMANIA
SOUTH AFRICA
POLAND
NEW ZEALAND
PANAMA
INDIA
LIBERIA
HEDJAZ
GUATEMALA
JAPAN
ECUADOR
CHINA
BOLIVIA
SIR W. F. LLOYD
SIR G. E. FOSTER
MR. SIFTON
MR. HUGHES
SIR J. COOK
GEN. BOTHA
GEN. SMUTS
MR. MAESEY
MAHARAJA OF BIKANIR
LORD SINHA
MARQUIS SAIONJI
BARON MAKINO
VISCOUNT CHINDA
M. MATSUI
MR. IJUIN
M. ISMAEL MONTES
FOREIGN SECRETARIES

Vienna congress, where emperors, kings, princes, and lords shaped the destinies of Europe, whereas today among the scores of European statesmen there was not one bearing a title of nobility with the single exception of Baron Sonnino.

The cosmopolitan character of the gathering was as striking as its democracy, for here were the Emirs of Arabia, Maharajahs of India, and the representatives of China, Japan, and Siam mingling with those from South Africa, Australia, and all the lands and islands of the Old and New Worlds. It was the first World Congress, moreover, to see representatives of Poland, obliterated from the political map for centuries, and Czechoslovakia, and the new Balkan confederation of Jugo Slavia.

President Poincaré occupied the presiding officer's chair pending the organization of the Conference. Immediately at his right sat President Wilson, and at his left Lloyd George. Ranged alongside President Wilson were the other American delegates, Secretary Lansing, Mr. White, Colonel House, and General Bliss. Lloyd George was flanked on his left by the imposing British delegation, fourteen members in all, occupying part of the head of the table and almost one entire side of the great horse-shoe—a notable evidence of the diplomatic strength of imperial Britain. The French delegation, with M. Pichon, Cambon, Klotz, Tardieu, and Marshal Foch, were ranged alongside the Americans, and further along sat the Italian and Belgian delegations. The five Japanese delegates were close alongside the British colonial members, while the interior of the horseshoe was occupied by the many groups from the smaller countries. It was a striking picture as

these notable figures gathered in groups and discussed the work lying ahead. President Wilson, Lloyd George, and Balfour formed one animated group, and further along Marshal Foch was extending greetings to the Maharajah of Bikanir.

President Poincaré's opening address, and that of President Wilson, were both delivered in easy conversational tones, without oratorical effect, and without that applause which lends éclat to great oratory, it being one of the regulations of the Conference that there is to be no applause. Lloyd George and Clemenceau spoke also without declamatory effect. But all the addresses voiced the feeling of deeep earnestness in the momentous character of the work about to begin.

"In a sense," said President Wilson, "this is the supreme Conference in the history of mankind, for more nations are represented here than were ever represented in such a Conference before, and the fortunes of the entire world are involved."

President Poincaré's welcoming address contained some significant passages, notably an approval of President Wilson's Fourteen Points and a clear intimation that some form of leaguing the nations together for mutual defence was one of the great works of the Conference lying ahead. While referring to the services on the field of all the countries taking part in the war, he was particularly warm in his tribute to the United States.

After outlining some of the features of the peace work President Poincaré went on:

"An immortal glory attaches itself to the names of the nations and the men who are gathered here to collaborate

in this grandiose work. Forty-eight years ago today, the empire of Germany was proclaimed by an army of invasion in the Château of Versailles. Born in injustice, it has ended in ignominy. You have assembled to enact measures which shall forever prevent such brutal wrongs.

"Gentlemen, you hold in your hands the future of the world. I salute you, gentlemen of the Conference, and I declare the Peace Conference open for business."

As the French president closed, President Wilson stepped forward and grasped his hand, expressing thanks for the tribute paid to the United States, while Lloyd George and many others gathered about the two presidents. M. Poincaré passed among the delegations, greeting each one personally. With this over, the real business of the Conference began, with President Wilson making the initial move in a motion naming Clemenceau as presiding officer of the conference.

"It gives me great pleasure," began the President, "to propose as permanent chairman of the Conference M. Clemenceau, the President of the Council of French ministers. I would do this as a matter of custom, I would do it as a tribute to the French Republic. But I wish to do it as something more than that. I wish to do it as a tribute to the man. France deserves the precedence not only because we are meeting in her capital and because she has undergone some of the most tragical sufferings of the war, but also because her capital, her ancient and beautiful capital, has so often been the center of conferences of this sort, upon which the fortunes of large parts of the world turned.

"It is a very delightful thought that the history of the

world, which has so often centered here, will now be crowned by the achievements of this Conference. Because there is a sense in which this is the supreme Conference of the history of mankind. More nations are represented here than were ever represented in such a Conference before. The fortunes of all peoples are involved. A great war is ended which seemed about to bring a universal cataclysm. The danger is passed. A victory has been won for mankind, and it is delightful that we should be able to record these great results in this place.

"But it is the more delightful to honor France because we can honor her in the person of so distinguished a servant. He feels as we feel, as I have no doubt everybody in this room feels, that we are trusted to do a great thing, to do it in the highest spirit of friendship and accommodation, and to do it as promptly as possible, in order that the hearts of men may have fear lifted from them and that they may return to those pursuits of life which will bring them happiness and contentment and prosperity. Knowing his brotherhood of heart in these great matters, it affords me a personal pleasure to propose not only that the President of the Council of Ministers, but M. Clemenceau, shall be the permanent chairman of this Conference."

President Wilson's nomination of Clemenceau was warmly seconded by Lloyd George, Baron Sonnino, and by a number of other delegates. It was mainly an occasion for paying tribute to the venerable French leader, and the result was established from the first. When Mr. Wilson declared Clemenceau the unanimous choice of the conference, the old leader came forward smiling, expressing his thanks in a few words, and then at once turning to the

business in hand, he announced that the program for discussion was:

First, responsibility for the war.

Second, responsibility for crimes committed during the war, and the individuals to be punished for these crimes.

Third, international labor legislation.

Fourth, formation of a League of Nations, which will be placed at the head of the agenda of the next session of the Conference.

On the question of responsibility for the war, Clemenceau said, French international jurists had already prepared a memorial establishing the guilt of William II. All the Powers, he explained, would be asked to present written memorials on such subjects as they wished to have considered—territorial, economic, military, naval, etc.

By unanimous agreement, M. Dutasta was named secretary-general of the Conference, and a list of vice-presidents from the Great Powers was announced, with Mr. Lansing, for the United States, at the head of the list. With this done, M. Clemenceau declared the session adjourned, and the delegates again gathered in groups discussing plans for the coming work.

* * *

The reference of Clemenceau to the League of Nations, and President Poincaré's definite declaration that the allies are committed to the Fourteen Points are received with the greatest satisfaction in American circles, as showing clearly that the President's policies are making distinct progress. The sympathetic glances and the cordial words exchanged today between Wilson, Poincaré, and Clemenceau seem very genuine, and their close association in the

last fortnight has seemed to give each a knowledge and respect for the fighting qualities of the others. Also it has given time to consider what practical concessions may be expected later on, for it is practical ends that Clemenceau keeps steadily in view.

Jan. 19. The President held a long conference last night with Lord Robert Cecil, the British special delegate on the League of Nations, General Smuts, the South African delegate, who has presented a definite plan for the league, and Leon Bourgeois, the French delegate, who has brought forward a league project. This initial conference was to hasten agreement on a plan to which all will agree, ready for presentation, at least in principle, when the Peace Conference holds its next meeting. The President has already secured a large concession in having the league project placed at the very fore-front of all discussion, ahead of the territorial readjustment and the framing of the peace treaty. All the comment on the opening of the Conference yesterday is highly favorable; optimism has taken the place of pessimism; the President and his friends believe that the outlook for the Conference and for his plans is distinctly auspicious.

Jan. 20. The troublesome Russian question came before the Council of Ten again today; M. Noulens, the French ambassador who has just returned from Russia, was before the council for two hours. He declared that the Bolshevik element was leagued with Germany; it had furnished Germany food during the war, and was now ready to furnish men and materials for another struggle against the entente powers. The Danish minister to Russia will be heard tomorrow on the same subject.

The President was the guest of honor at noon at a gala luncheon given by the French Senate at the Luxembourg palace. It was another gorgeous spectacle, and it brought out also a declaration from the President that "Those who have fought together in this war must remain bound together against the common peril."

The gala luncheon was one of the most elaborate functions thus far given, with three hundred notable guests at table, in this setting of one of the finest old-world palaces. The republican guard in their gorgeous white and red uniforms and glittering helmets lined the marble staircase as the President was escorted to the banquet hall. The function was held in the old throne-room of the palace, where the Bourbon kings used to sit in state, and this was the first time in a hundred years it had been used for this purpose, the last occasion being when Napoleon was welcomed back by the French Senate from his great victory on the battle-field of Jena. The menu today was a beautifully engraved work of art with a portrait of the President on the cover.

* * *

The President's address at the Luxembourg Palace this afternoon, and that of M. Dubost, president of the Senate, had some rather telling passages.

"We absolutely believe with you, Monsieur le President," said M. Dubost, "that a new world order and a new world harmony are possible, in which old France will be at last liberated from the perpetual nightmare of invasion, this France for which fourteen hundred thousand men have just laid down their lives. It is you who have undertaken this great task, coming here to the devastated soil of old

Europe where hatred and discord still prevail and where anarchy has already threatened a large part of humanity.

"The task before you is gigantic, but it is one worthy of your great country, accustomed as it is to grand enterprises; and it is worthy of you, Mr. President, of your great heart and your high intelligence, which we salute with a joyous hope and an ardent acclamation."

The President's reply made a somewhat significant reference to the community of interests between the United States and France, which are now "bound together by an oath never to separate."

"A new world is now opening before us," said the President. "This new world is just awakening to the community of its interests. It knows that its very future is dependent on this community of interest, and the future of free institutions is the future of civilization. It knows that if the peril in which France has lived was to continue, it would be a menace against the entire world. Against such a menace it is not alone France, it is the entire world which must organize.

"In the words which you addressed to me I recognized not only your fraternal cordiality, but I perceive also a design and a directing thought. This thought is that we must be bound together, we must aid each other. Those who together have fought for Liberty, those who together have safeguarded and defended Liberty, are bound together by an oath never to separate."

This reference of the President to France and the United States "bound together by an oath never to separate" seems to be the first faint glimmer of a Franco-American alli-

ance, and it may be this which has made Clemenceau smile as he yielded so amiably of late.

As the President closed his address, the band of the Garde Republicain took up the inspiring strains of "The Marseillaise," while the famous tenor of the grand opera house, Noté, joined in the refrain. The President was so impressed that he wrote a line of thanks and congratulations on his visiting card, and sent it by General Lecroix to the famous tenor.

Following the toasts the guests withdrew to the salon Victor Hugo for coffee, and here two notable groups formed, one with Marshal Foch as the center of attention, the other with President Wilson. The premiers and prime ministers gathered about the President, and besides receiving them cordially, he made a number of appointments for the next few days. The two presidents, Poincaré and Wilson, were given military honors as they left the palace. President Wilson closed a busy day by going to the Crillon for an hour's conference with the American delegation.

CHAPTER XIV

RUSSIA REBELLIOUS

Jan. 21. The Russian situation has suddenly come to the forefront of consideration in Conference circles, and there is a determination on the part of the President and Lloyd George to try some immediate solution. It was announced tonight that a definite proposition had been formulated by the five Great Powers and would be announced tomorrow. The proposition will be for a commission of inquiry to go to a point in or near Russia, and hear all sides, including the Bolshevists. Clemenceau has not been favorable to this idea, but his chief opposition was due to the fear that it might bring the Bolshevists to Paris. A compromise has finally been arranged by which the commission will assemble outside of Paris, either in Russia or near enough to get at all of the different elements.

The Danish minister to Petrograd, who was the last diplomatist to leave there, was before the Council of the Great Powers today and made a distinct impression by his statement of the conditions as he left them only a short time ago. He said the Bolshevist army when he left numbered only ninety thousand men. Beyond this there was a miscellaneous rabble without arms, without munitions, without food or clothing except as they could steal it from the districts they overran. He read an article written by

one of the soviet leaders declaring that Wilson and Lloyd George were reactionaries committed to capitalism and imperialism and should not be dealt with by the proletariat. The decision as to just what steps will be taken went over until tomorrow, and meantime the President is busy on his typewriter in formulating the definite proposition, which the official communiqué tonight describes as a "concrete proposal."

The Council also decided today to reassemble the Peace Conference in plenary session next Saturday afternoon. This is another concession to the President, as the Conference has already decided that the League of Nations project, so dear to the heart of the President, is to be at the head of the program at the next session. It shows, moreover, that the plan of the League of Nations is well along toward completion, for surely the President would not risk a plenary session of the Conference unless he had something pretty definite to propose. Lloyd George has already announced that he will speak at the coming meeting in support of the proposed League, but it is not yet quite clear whether this is friendship or diplomacy.

* * *

Another glimpse behind the scenes, at the secret meeting of the Council today, shows the real trend on the Russian question. The discussion included the following:

PRESIDENT WILSON suggested that Mr. Lloyd George's proposal, to summon Russian representatives, be changed so as to meet the objection of M. Clemenceau to inviting the Bolshevists to Paris. This could be overcome, Mr. Wilson said, by inviting them to a place other than Paris, say Salonica.

Baron Sonnino—I suggest that there are already representatives of several of the Russian states here in Paris, such as Sazonov, who might be heard.

President Wilson—If these representatives should be heard separately, it would be going in a circle. I think it most desirable that they should be heard all in one room. This method would afford an opportunity for a comparison of views and if possible a settlement upon some plan.

Mr. Balfour supported President Wilson's suggestion.

President Wilson—I venture to think that what is back of Baron Sonnino's suggestion is an antipathy to the Bolsheviki and a natural repulsion against their acts. I would observe, however, that by opposing the Bolsheviki by arms, the cause of the Bolsheviki is being served by the Allies. They are being given a case. They can say to their followers that the imperialistic and capitalistic governments are desirous of destroying Russia. They would represent the Allies as the advocates and supporters of reaction. If the Allies can make it appear that this is not true, most of the moral influence of the Bolsheviki would break down, as their case would be gone. They could no longer allege that it was the purpose of the Allies and the United States to enslave the Russian people and to take charge of their affairs. It is therefore desirable that the Allies show that they are ready to hear the representatives of any organized group in Russia, providing they are willing and ready to come to one place, to put all their cards on the table, and see if they cannot come to an understanding. I venture to think that such a line of action, if adopted would bring

about more reaction against the cause of the Bolsheviki than anything else the Allies could do.

M. CLEMENCEAU—In principle I am not favorable to holding conversations with the Bolsheviki, as I consider them to be criminals. I object principally for the reason that it would raise them to the level of the Allies and give them great prestige. But sometimes in politics it is necessary to hold conversations with criminals. Moreover things are going from bad to worse. If I were acting for myself only I would do nothing, or would set up a form of *barrage* against the Bolsheviki. But the Allies must stand together. We must be unanimous, and as President Wilson's proposal has opened new vistas, I am prepared to associate myself with President Wilson's proposal.

MR. LLOYD GEORGE withdrew his proposal in favor of President Wilson's suggestion.

MR. BALFOUR—I wish to say that I think that if any one refuses to accept such an invitation it will be the Bolsheviki.

BARON SONNINO—I beg to disagree with that, and to state that for my part I think the Bolsheviki will be the first to come.

The Council agreed that President Wilson draw up a statement explaining that, in inviting Russian representatives, it was not the wish to interfere in the internal affairs of Russia. This was the statement finally made public, but the interesting discussion leading up to the statement was never made public.

* * *

Jan. 22. Led by the President, the Great Powers today moved to unite the factions of distracted Russia and bring

them into the Peace Conference. They unanimously adopted a resolution, drafted by the President and supported by Lloyd George, inviting all the Russian factions, including the Bolshevists, to meet the allied and associated governments at Prinkipo, on Prince's Island, in the Sea of Marmora, on February 15th. The factions are asked to declare a truce and suspend all military operations pending this meeting. General Pershing has been called to Paris, and there is some prospect that he may head the American delegation to Prinkipo if Marshal Foch can spare him from the armistice negotiations.

This is the first time that America has taken the direction in the councils of European powers on affairs of a distinctly European character. There was added significance in the fact that the American President had in person taken the initiative in a Council made up chiefly of European statesmen and had pointed the way which they had unanimously followed. This is distinctly flattering to the personal prestige of the President, but back of the personal element is the stern prospect that the United States has now definitely embarked in the direction and leadership of internal European questions.

The adoption of the President's Russian project has been a severe defeat for Clemenceau, who resisted it until he found that the Council was practically a unit against him. I saw him as he came from the Council room after the President's resolution had been passed. He came out to the ante-chamber for his overcoat, a big gray coat with fur lining. As he pulled on the coat, a French official asked him how the discussion had resulted, for every one was on tip-toe as to the Russian project.

"Battu" (beaten), was Clemenceau's single word of reply, given with explosive force, which told the feeling behind it.

* * *

The League of Nations was discussed for the first time at the session of the Council today, and President Wilson gave this outline of how the project was to be drafted:

PRESIDENT WILSON—I suggest that as a practical matter a draft for the League of Nations be made by a commission appointed by the Great Powers. This draft could then be submitted to a larger commission on which all the Small Powers would be represented. In a word, the drafting would be done by the Great Powers, and the result submitted to the criticism of the Small Powers.

MR. LLOYD GEORGE—Inasmuch as the League of Nations is to be a sort of shield of the Small Powers I think they should be represented on the drafting committee. Perhaps it would be better to have the Great Powers nominate their own representatives, and also name the Small Powers who should have representatives on the commission.

PRESIDENT WILSON stated that he would prefer a more elastic arrangement, and thought it most desirable that the opinion of the thoughtful men representing the Small Powers should be sought. He thought it would be well if the commission appointed by the Great Powers was authorized to call in anyone they chose; they need not confine themselves to a few. Much more would be gotten out of the Small Powers if they were called in as friends and advisers.

PRESIDENT WILSON—It is impossible to draft an instrument in a large committee. It will be far more practical to appoint a manageable drafting committee, letting this

small committee of a few men prepare and submit a draft to the others and obtain their impressions and opinions.

The Council finally determined that a plenary session of the Peace Conference be called for January 25; that the principles of the League of Nations be submitted at that time for discussion, and that the Small Powers be invited to appoint five delegates.

* * *

The President's Russian proposal is given textually in the official communiqué tonight, as it was adopted by the Council of the Great Powers. The communiqué is unusually informative, and is worth noting textually:

OFFICIAL COMMUNIQUÉ, *Jan. 22, 1919.* The President of the United States, the prime ministers, the foreign ministers of the allied and associated powers, and the Japanese representatives met at the Quai d'Orsay from three P. M. to five-thirty P. M. this afternoon, and approved the proposal of President Wilson reading as follows:

The associated powers are now engaged in the solemn and responsible work of establishing the peace of Europe, and of the world, and they are keenly alive to the fact that Europe and the world cannot be at peace if Russia is not. They recognize and accept it as their duty, therefore, to serve Russia in this great matter as generously, as unselfishly, as thoughtfully, and ungrudgingly as they would serve every other friend and ally. And they are ready to render this service in the way that is most acceptable to the Russian people.

In this spirit and with this purpose, they have taken the following action: They invite every organized group that

is now exercising or attempting to exercise political authority or military control anywhere in Siberia, or within the boundaries of European Russia as they stood before the war just concluded (except in Finland) to send representatives, not exceeding three representatives for each group, to the Prince's Islands, Sea of Marmora, where they will be met by representatives of the associated powers provided, in the meantime there is a truce of arms amongst the parties invited, and that all armed forces anywhere sent or directed against any people or territory outside the boundaries of European Russia as they stood before the war, or against Finland, or against any people or territory whose autonomous action is in contemplation in the fourteen articles upon which the present peace negotiations are based, shall be meanwhile withdrawn, and aggressive military action cease. These representatives are invited to confer with the representatives of the associated powers in the freest and frankest way, with a view to ascertaining the wishes of all sections of the Russian people, and bringing about, if possible, some understanding and agreement by which Russia may work out her own purposes and happy coöperative relations be established between her people and the other peoples of the world.

A prompt reply to this invitation is requested. Every facility for the journey of the representatives, including transport across the Black Sea, will be given by the Allies, and all the parties concerned are expected to give the same facilities. The representatives will be expected at the place appointed by the fifteenth of February, 1919.

* * *

Jan. 23. Whether the effort of the great powers to tranquillize Russia is going to succeed or fail is still in the balance tonight. Nothing has been heard from the Bol-

shevists, and they hold the key to the situation. But Sazonov, former Russian minister of foreign affairs, who is now in Paris, declares that the elements opposed to the Bolshevists will never deal with these "red-handed murderers and assassins." The French official view is also reflected in the *Temps*, which says it is a travesty on justice to invite those who betrayed the allies and let loose the whole German force on the Western front, to now sit down on equal terms with those they betrayed. Although the President's plan has its defenders who maintain it is at least some move toward ending a bad situation, yet it has certainly aroused intense feeling in the Peace Conference.

Lloyd George, talking with N today, said the President's proposal was after all the only thing open for the great powers to adopt. The Prime Minister described the scene in the council chamber leading up to the adoption of the President's plan. He said that the Danish minister, Scavenius, had declared that a large expeditionary army would be needed at once to cope with the Bolshevists.

"And who is to furnish this army?" asked Lloyd George.

"Will you furnish it?" continued Lloyd George, turning to Hughes of Australia.

"Not a man from Australia will go to Russia," answered the Australian premier.

"And will you furnish it?" he asked of Sir Robert Borden, prime minister of Canada.

"No, Canada would not sustain me in sending an army to Russia," answered the Canadian premier.

"Then will America send the army?" continued Lloyd George, turning to President Wilson and Secretary Lansing.

Both of them shook their heads, and the President remarked decisively, "I could not ask the American Congress and the American people to approve sending a large army into Russia."

"And so," said Lloyd George, "if that is the way you gentlemen feel, it only remains for a British army to be sent to Russia, if we are to embark on the plan of subduing the Bolshevists. And what do you think Parliament would say if I rose to suggest that a British army was going to Russia after all these years of fighting our men have just been through? And what do you think our soldiers would say? And suppose Bonar Law, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, asked the House of Commons for the credits necessary to send such a military expedition to Russia. What would be the reply?"

It was this appeal from Lloyd George which turned the scale against any military movement, and in favor of a commission. President Wilson's draft for the meeting at Prince's Island was presented as Lloyd George finished his queries. The British Prime Minister supported the President and immediately all the others present fell in line.

* * *

Jan. 24. International events of a high order took form today at the meeting of the Council of the Great Powers, which was attended also by Marshal Foch and the other military commanders. The results are summed up as follows:

First—Issuance of a "solemn warning to the world" that the possession of territory gained by force will seriously prejudice the claims of those who use such means, and who set up "sovereignty by coercion."

Second—Appointment of a commission of the highest military commanders, including the British Minister of War and Marshal Foch, to carry out "immediate demobilization" of the allied and associated forces, and to establish proportionate forces for the occupied German regions.

Third—Opening of the discussion on the disposal of the German colonies, with hearings of Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, China, and Japan, on their claims for holding these colonies.

Fourth—Decision that an international medal should be struck for all the allied and associated troops taking part in the war.

Fifth—Creation of a commission which is to proceed to Poland at once, on instructions to be drafted by M. Pichon, to adjust the disturbed military, political, and economic conditions of Poland. These embrace some of the most difficult questions before the Peace Conference.

* * *

The President was again the author of the resolutions adopted by the Great Powers today, giving a "solemn warning to the world" against the seizure of territory. It is more particularly directed against the warring elements in Central Europe—Poles, Czechoslovaks, Roumanians, and Jugo Slavs—which are reaching out to grab territory. The warning is in the characteristic style of the President, and reads as follows:

"The governments now associated in conference to effect a lasting peace among the nations are deeply disturbed by the news which comes to them of the many instances in which armed force is being made use of, in many parts of Europe and the East, to gain possession of territory, the

rightful claim to which the Peace Conference is to be asked to determine.

"They deem it their duty to utter a solemn warning that possession gained by force will seriously prejudice the claims of those who use such means. It will create the presumption that those who employ force doubt the justice and validity of their claim and purpose to substitute possession for proof of right and set up sovereignty by coercion rather than by racial or national preference and natural historical association.

"They thus put a cloud upon every evidence of title they may afterwards allege and indicate their distrust of the Conference itself. Nothing but the most unfortunate results can ensue. If they expect justice, they must refrain from force and place their claims in unclouded good faith in the hands of the Conference of Peace."

CHAPTER XV

A NAPOLEONIC STROKE: PEACE TREATY AND COVENANT UNITED

Jan. 25. The President executed a Napoleonic stroke today when he put through a resolution binding together hard and fast for all times the Peace Treaty and the League of Nations Covenant. This he accomplished at the second plenary session of the Peace Conference held at the Foreign Office this afternoon. His action is so effective that there can be no peace without the League; and on the other hand, as peace is sure to come, the President hopes to make the League equally sure. The President also delivered his first important speech, making the League Covenant the paramount issue of the entire Conference.

The gathering of the Conference today presented the same scene of impressive dignity as a week ago, with Arabs and East Indians in their turbans and long flowing gowns, and with full delegations from the Great and Small Powers. These latter were in belligerent mood, because of the rules restricting them to "particular interests"; and before the session was over they raised a storm.

The President's presentation of the resolutions on the Covenant was, however, the main event of the day. But it was not the Covenant itself, for the best efforts of the framers had not succeeded in elaborating the full project. Instead of that, the President submitted a declaratory resolution, stating on broad lines the general purposes of the

proposed League and declaring that it shall be "created as an integral part of the general treaty of peace and shall be open to every civilized nation which can be relied on to promote its objects."

The full text of this important declaration, as offered by the President, and unanimously adopted after his earnest speech, was as follows:

DRAFT PRELIMINARY RESOLUTIONS FOR A LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The Conference having considered the proposals for the creation of a League of Nations, resolves that:

(a) It is essential to the maintenance of the world settlement, which the Associated Nations are now met to establish, that a League of Nations be created to promote international coöperation to ensure the fulfillment of accepted international obligations, and to provide safeguards against war.

(b) This League should be created as an integral part of the general treaty of peace, and should be open to every civilized nation which can be relied on to promote its objects.

(c) The members of the League should periodically meet in international conference, and should have a permanent organization and secretariat to carry on the business of the League in the intervals between the Conference.

The Conference therefore appoints a Committee representative of the Associated governments to work out the details of the constitution and functions of the League.

* * *

The President spoke with unusual earnestness in support of this resolution committing the Conference to the binding together of the Peace Treaty and the League. There was no oratorical effect, however, and towards the close his voice fell almost to a whisper, so that he could hardly be heard by the delegates at the further end of the table. As it was probably the most effective speech made during the Conference and was far-reaching in the results it secured, the text is here given:

"I consider it a distinguished privilege to be permitted to open the discussion in this conference on the League of Nations. We have assembled for two purposes: to make the present settlements which have been rendered necessary by this war, and also to secure the peace of the world, not only by the present settlements but by the arrangements we shall make at this conference for its maintenance. The league of nations seems to me to be necessary for both of these purposes. There are many complicated questions connected with the present settlements which perhaps cannot be successfully worked out to an ultimate issue by the decisions we shall arrive at here. I can easily conceive that many of these settlements will need subsequent consideration, that many of the decisions we make shall need subsequent alteration in some degree; for, if I may judge by my own study of some of these questions, they are not susceptible of confident judgments at present.

"It is, therefore, necessary that we should set up some machinery by which the work of this conference should be rendered complete. We have assembled here for the purpose of doing very much more than making the present settlements that are necessary. We are assembled under very peculiar conditions of world opinion. I may say

without straining the point that we are not representatives of governments, but representatives of peoples. It will not suffice to satisfy governmental circles anywhere. It is necessary that we should satisfy the opinion of mankind. The burdens of this war have fallen in an unusual degree upon the whole population of the countries involved.

"I do not need to draw for you the picture of how the burden has been thrown back from the front upon the older men, upon the women, upon the children, upon the homes of the civilized world, and how the real strain of the war has come where the eye of government could not reach, but where the heart of humanity beat. We are bidden by these people to make a peace which will make them secure. We are bidden by these people to see to it that this strain does not come upon them again, and I venture to say that it has been possible for them to bear this strain because they hoped that those who represented them could get together after this war and make such another sacrifice unnecessary.

"It is a solemn obligation on our part, therefore, to make permanent arrangements that justice shall be rendered and peace maintained. This is the central object of our meeting. Settlements may be temporary, but the action of the nations in the interest of peace and justice must be permanent. We can set up permanent processes. We may not be able to set up permanent decisions. Therefore, it seems to me that we must take, so far as we can, a picture of the world into our minds.

"Is it not a startling circumstance, for one thing, that the great discoveries of science, that the quiet studies of men in laboratories, that the thoughtful developments which have taken place in quiet lecture rooms, have now been turned to the destruction of civilization? The powers of destruction have not so much multiplied as gained

facility. The enemy whom we have just overcome had at his seats of learning some of the principal centers of scientific study and discovery, and he used them in order to make destruction sudden and complete; and only the watchful, continuous coöperation of men can see to it that science as well as armed men are kept within the harness of civilization.

"In a sense the United States is less interested in this subject than the other nations here assembled. With her great territory and her extensive sea borders, it is less likely that the United States should suffer from the attack of enemies than that many of the other nations here should suffer; and the ardor of the United States—for it is a very deep and genuine ardor—for the society of nations is not an ardor springing out of fear or apprehension, but an ardor springing out of the ideals which have come to consciousness in this war.

"In coming into this war the United States never for a moment thought that she was intervening in the politics of Europe or the politics of Asia or the politics of any part of the world. Her thought was that all the world had now become conscious that there was a single cause which turned upon the issues of this war. That was the cause of justice and of liberty for men of every kind and place. Therefore, the United States should feel that its part in this war had been played in vain if there ensued upon it a body of European settlements. It would feel that it could not take part in guaranteeing those European settlements unless that guarantee involved the continuous superintendence of the peace of the world by the associated nations of the world.

"Therefore, it seems to me that we must concert our best judgment in order to make this league of nations a vital

thing—not merely a formal thing, not an occasional thing, not a thing sometimes called into life to meet an exigency, but always functioning in watchful attendance upon the interests of the nations, and that its continuity should be a vital continuity; that it should have functions that are continuing functions and that do not permit an intermission of its watchfulness and of its labor; that it should be the eye of the nations to keep watch upon the common interest, an eye that did not slumber, an eye that was everywhere watchful and attentive.

"And if we do not make it vital, what shall we do? We shall disappoint the expectations of the peoples. This is what their thought centers upon. I have had the very delightful experience of visiting several nations since I came to this side of the water, and every time the voice of the body of the people reached me through any representative, at the front of the plea stood the hope for the league of nations. Gentlemen, the select classes of mankind are no longer the governors of mankind. The fortunes of mankind are now in the hands of the plain people of the whole world. Satisfy them, and you have justified their confidence not only but established peace. Fail to satisfy them, and no arrangement that you can make will either set up or steady the peace of the world.

"You can imagine, gentlemen, I dare say, the sentiments and the purpose with which representatives of the United States support this great project for a league of nations. We regard it as the keystone of the whole programme, which expressed our purposes and ideals in this war and which the associated nations accepted as the basis of the settlement. If we return to the United States without having made every effort in our power to realize this programme, we should return to meet the merited scorn of

our fellow-citizens. For they are a body that constitutes a great democracy.

"They expect their leaders to speak their thoughts and no private purpose of their own. They expect their representatives to be their servants. We have no choice but to obey their mandate. But it is with the greatest enthusiasm and pleasure that we accept that mandate; and because this is the keystone of the whole fabric, we have pledged our every purpose to it, as we have to every item of the fabric. We would not dare abate a single item of the programme which constitutes our instruction. We would not dare compromise upon any matter as the champion of this thing—this peace of the world, this attitude of justice, this principle that we are the masters of no people but are here to see that every people in the world shall choose its own masters and govern its own destinies, not as we wish but as it wishes.

"We are here to see, in short, that the very foundations of this war are swept away. Those foundations were the private choice of small coteries of civil rulers and military staffs. Those foundations were the aggression of great powers upon small. Those foundations were the folding together of empires of unwilling subjects by the duress of arms. Those foundations were the power of small bodies of men to work their will and use mankind as pawns in a game. And nothing less than the emancipation of the world from these things will accomplish peace. You can see that the representatives of the United States are, therefore, never put to the embarrassment of choosing a way of expediency, because they have laid down for them the unalterable lines of principle. And, thank God, those lines have been accepted as the lines of settlement by all the high-minded men who have had to do with the beginnings of this great business.

"I hope, Mr. Chairman, that when it is known, as I feel confident it will be known, that we have adopted the principle of the league of nations and mean to work out that principle in effective action, we shall by that single thing have lifted a great part of the load of anxiety from the hearts of men everywhere. We stand in a peculiar case. As I go about the streets here I see everywhere the American uniform. Those men came into the war after we had uttered our purposes. They came as crusaders, not merely to win a war, but to win a cause; and I am responsible to them, for it fell to me to formulate the purposes for which I asked them to fight, and I, like them, must be a crusader for these things whatever it costs and whatever it may be necessary to do, in honor, to accomplish the object for which they fought.

"I have been glad to find from day to day that there is no question of our standing alone in this matter, for there are champions of this cause upon every hand. I am merely avowing this in order that you may understand why, perhaps, it fell to us, who are disengaged from the politics of this great continent and of the Orient, to suggest that this was the keystone of the arch and why it occurred to the generous mind of our president to call upon me to open this debate. It is not because we alone represent this idea, but because it is our privilege to associate ourselves with you in representing it.

"I have only tried in what I have said to give you the fountains of the enthusiasm which is within us for this thing, for those fountains spring, it seems to me, from all the ancient wrongs and sympathies of mankind, and the very pulse of the world seems to beat on the surface in this enterprise."

The President's speech was followed with the closest at-

tention throughout, but, following the custom, without the slightest applause or evidence of approval or disapproval. At the close, however, Mr. Balfour and several others stepped forward and warmly congratulated him.

The British Prime Minister, following the President, said his main desire was "to voice the emphatic approval and support of the League of Nations by the British government and the British people." He gave a vivid picture of his recent visit to the devastated regions of France.

"The terrible scenes I there witnessed," he said, "revealed the only organized means which nations possess today to settle their disputes. Surely, surely, the time has come that saner methods be established than this organized savagery."

Premier Orlando of Italy, Leon Bourgeois for France, M. Hymans for Belgium, and several others from the small powers added their support for the resolutions. Whereupon M. Clemenceau, as presiding officer, without calling for a vote, announced that if there were no further remarks, and no objections, the resolutions would be considered adopted. There was no word of dissent, and thus the President's strong declaration, firmly uniting the Peace Treaty and the League of Nations, became the definite policy of the Conference.

* * *

Practically the entire work of the Peace Conference was mapped out in the resolutions adopted today. These resolutions besides the one already given on the League of Nations, cover also the appointment of commissions to establish responsibility for the war and the creation of a tribunal for the trial of the Kaiser and others held to be

responsible; also for the assessing of the amount of indemnities or reparation to be paid by the Central Powers; also for an investigation of international labor conditions; and finally for the establishment of an international régime of ports, waterways, and railways. As these resolutions, adopted without dissent, lay down the entire work of the Peace Conference, they are here given:

DRAFT RESOLUTION IN REGARD TO BREACHES OF THE LAWS OF WAR

That a Commission, composed of two representatives apiece from the five Great Powers, and five representatives to be elected by the other Powers, be appointed to inquire and report upon the following:

(1) The responsibility of the authors of the war.
(2) The facts as to breaches of the laws and customs of war committed by the forces of the German Empire and their allies on land, on sea, and in the air, during the present war.
(3) The degree of responsibility for these offenses attaching to particular members of the enemy forces, including members of the General Staffs, and other individuals, however highly placed.
(4) The Constitution and procedure of a tribunal appropriate to the trial of these offenses.
(5) Any other matters cognate or ancillary to the above which may arise in the course of the inquiry, and which the Commission finds it useful and relevant to take into consideration.

DRAFT RESOLUTION IN REGARD TO REPARATION

That a Commission be appointed with not more than three representatives apiece from each of the five Great Powers and not more than two representatives apiece from Belgium, Greece, Poland, Roumania and Serbia, to examine and report:

1. On the amount for reparation which the enemy countries ought to pay.
2. On what they are capable of paying; and
3. On the method, the form, and time within which payment should be made.

DRAFT RESOLUTION IN REGARD TO INTERNATIONAL LEGISLATION ON INDUSTRIAL AND LABOUR QUESTIONS

That a Commission, composed of two representatives apiece from the five Great Powers, and five representatives to be elected by the other Powers represented at the Peace Conference, be appointed to enquire into the conditions of employment from the international aspect, and to consider the international means necessary to secure common action on matters affecting conditions of employment, and to recommend the form of a permanent agency to continue such enquiry and consideration in coöperation with and under the direction of the League of Nations.

DRAFT RESOLUTION ON PORTS AND WATERWAYS

That a Commission, composed of two representatives apiece from the five Great Powers, and five representatives to be elected by the other Powers, be appointed to inquire and report upon:

The international régime of ports, waterways and railways.

Following the adoption of the resolutions, M. Clemenceau announced the long list of members of the various commissions, with the name of President Wilson as chairman of the commission on the League of Nations, and Secretary Lansing as chairman of the commission on responsibility for the war.

* * *

It was toward the close of the day that the storm broke among the Small Powers. They had been murmuring among themselves for many days, but when the commissions were announced, with the Great Powers each represented by two members on the various commissions—ten members in all—while the Small Powers had a total membership of five members on all the commissions, this discrimination of two to one aroused their ire.

M. Hymans was first to make an emphatic protest against the discrimination. Serbia at once added her protest, and the eloquent Venizelos added the protest of Greece. The Brazilian delegate spoke sharply of the "cut-and-dried programme." Portugal, Czecho-slovakia, Roumania, China, and Poland each registered its energetic protest. Even Sir Robert Borden, the Canadian prime minister, criticized the discrimination against the Small Powers.

For a time it looked like a *bloc* of the Small Powers against the Great Powers, and in such an issue the Small Powers would have won the day, for under the rules counting each nation as a unit, the Small Powers were ready to

cast nineteen votes against the five votes held by the Great Powers.

But Clemenceau's skill as a parliamentarian was never shown to better advantage than it was in averting this storm. His speech was good tempered, calming the resentment. The friendly tributes appealed to the Small Powers, and their ill feeling gradually disappeared. M. Hymans, who had started the protest, finally withdrew it, saying the Small Powers having made themselves heard, would trust to the fairness of the Great Powers. Thus the storm passed, and the Peace Conference is still proceeding harmoniously.

* * *

Jan. 26. I saw M. Pichon in his cabinet at the foreign office this morning, and he talked quite freely for half an hour on current topics before the Peace Conference. It was the same cabinet used for the daily sessions of the council of ten, with its superb Gobelin tapestries and fine old furniture. Pichon is a little gray man—gray hair, gray mustache, gray clothes. He put aside all diplomatic evasion and talked with perfect frankness.

M. Pichon said that the Bolshevists had made no response thus far to the invitation to take part in the conference at Prince's Island, and he began to doubt, he said, if any of the Russian factions would attend the conference. In that case the Supreme Council would have to consider some further means of dealing with the Russian situation.

"There seems to be an idea," said M. Pichon, "that by inviting the Bolshevists we gave them formal recognition as a government. But certainly no such recognition was intended, and none was given. They are recognized, not as a government, but only as one of the several factions."

Speaking of the French-British controversy over the control of Syria, M. Pichon said he thought diplomacy would be able to adjust the matter in due time "by mutual concessions."

When inquiry was made of a statement recently attributed to Marshal Foch, that France expected to hold the entire left bank of the Rhine, M. Pichon quickly replied:

"That is merely the personal opinion of Foch. He is speaking for himself and not for the government, as the question has not come up for decision by the government nor has it been considered here by the Supreme Council."

* * *

The President made his first trip to the devastated regions today, going to Château-Thierry and the Belleau Wood, where the Americans had such heavy fighting, and closing the day in the shell-torn ruins of the great cathedral of Rheims. He motored most of the way, passing through the battle country where the American troops had done their hardest fighting. All about were the evidences of recent combat—fields torn up with great shell holes, orchards and groves swept by shell fire until they looked like the wake of a forest fire, and trenches and barbed-wire entanglements stretching away for miles. The mounds of our soldier dead were dotted along the way, and near Château-Thierry were two large cemeteries for American dead.

The President talked with the mayor of Château-Thierry and from the rugged old peasant got a stirring account of the splendid sweep of the American forces. Later on at Rheims the Cardinal Archbishop acted as guide for the President through the wreck of the once splendid cathedral. The deserted city presented a desolate picture; once the

home of 120,000 people, now reduced to 5,000, living in cellars and amid the débris.

The only comment made by the President when he returned tonight from his trip was: "No one can put into words the impression received among such scenes of desolation and ruin."

All France has been anxiously awaiting this visit of the President to the devastated regions, before he undertakes to figure up the bill of indemnity that Germany must pay for causing the devastation.

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Jan. 27. Under the skillful guidance of Jules Cambon, the nineteen Small Powers fell into line today and agreed to work in harmony with the Great Powers, thus securing a united front at the outset of the Conference. M. Cambon was chosen by the Great Powers to preside at the meeting of the smaller element held at the Foreign Office. There was some fear that the storm of Saturday might break again today. But Cambon avoided trouble; there was harmony throughout. The Small Powers named their five members on each of the commissions, except on the reparation commission, where they asked for a larger representation, which will be granted. I saw M. Cambon as he came from the meeting. He was smiling and very happy at having calmed the storm. "Everything lovely," he said. "Not a word of discord; every one satisfied."

While the Small Powers were in session, the Council of the Great Powers was also holding a meeting in an adjoining room with the Chinese, Japanese, and Australians making their first statements on the German colonies in the Pacific and Kiau-Chau. There is intense feeling over

these colonies, and particularly over Kiau-Chau, and there promises to be a battle royal between the elements representing annexation and those representing the interests of the native peoples of these colonies.

CHAPTER XVI

SPOILS OF WAR—GERMAN COLONIES—KIAU-CHAU—MANDATORIES

Jan. 28. The distribution of the German colonies—the spoils of war—has now become the absorbing question before the Council of the Great Powers, and of the lesser powers and dominions having colonial interests, such as Belgium, Australia, and Portugal. It has occupied the entire attention of two long sessions today and there is the clash of greedy self-interest which makes itself heard far outside the council chamber.

The stakes are little short of colossal, for the former German colonies scattered over the globe form an island empire on which Germany once based her hopes of world dominion. It is the once proud German colonial system, launched by Bismarck as a challenge to England's colonial empire, and now expanded to truly imperial proportions of over 1,000,000 square miles—five times the size of Germany herself—one-third the size of the United States, with a population of 15,000,000 people.

These are the prodigious stakes in the huge diplomatic game now fairly under way. They are the first of the "practical ends" which European diplomacy is matching against ideals. It is to be noted that President Wilson gained his triumph on the League of Nations just three days ago, at the plenary session of January 25. It is more than

a coincidence, that, within three days, the Council begins the discussion of the very practical question of dividing up territory among the various claimants. Up to this time America has been leading in the great diplomatic game, but now that territory is being divided European statesmanship has taken a distinct lead.

In the hearings which have been given before the Council, the claims and interests of the various countries seeking to inherit these colonies, have become well defined, and stand about thus:

Australia wants New Guinea and the Bismarck group of islands, together having an area almost as great as New Zealand or as the State of Indiana.

New Zealand wants Samoa, second only to Hawaii as one of the lesser Pacific groups.

British South Africa wants German East Africa and German Southwest Africa. Together these two German colonies have an area of 704,000 square miles, and a population of 8,000,000 people.

France wants German Togoland, with 35,000 square miles, and the German Cameroons, with 300,000 square miles. Together these two German colonies have 5,000,000 people.

Portugal wants a strip of West Africa near Portuguese Angola.

Belgium wants a slice of the Cameroons near the Belgian Congo.

Japan wants the great Chinese port of Kiau-Chau and a large section of the Chinese province of Shantung. Japan also wants the Marshal group of Pacific islands, the Caroline group and the Marianne group.

China also wants Kiau-Chau and the province of Shantung, and herein is the opening of a bitter controversy between China and Japan for the mastery of Kiau-Chau. It was held by Germany on a ninety-nine-year lease from China. Now China asks that, as the war ended the lease, Kiau-Chau be returned to the sovereignty of China. But Japan, lying just across the China Sea from this mighty tongue of Chinese territory, says that her fleet and army wrested Kiau-Chau from the German power, and that to the victor belong the spoils. For the past two days the Chinese and Japanese representatives have been clashing before the Council of Great Powers, with evidence of much bitterness on both sides.

The British home government appears to be holding aloof from the greedy struggle, as it has no direct interest except as the two British colonies, Australia and British South Africa, are very much concerned in the distribution. Premier Hughes of Australia has taken the lead for out-and-out annexation of the German colonies to the allied countries which will inherit them, the effect of this being to make New Guinea and the Bismarck group an integral part of Australia.

A curious phase has developed in the understanding, or secret treaty, between Great Britain and Japan by which Japan is to receive all of the Pacific island groups lying north of the equator, and the British colonies are to receive the groups lying south of the equator. This gives Japan the Marshal, Caroline, and Marianne groups. They lie just east of the Philippines, and appear to be designed by nature as a great strategic arc stretching around the Philippines. Just why Japan should want this strategic

outpost to the Philippines, and just why the United States should close its eyes to such an acquisition, is not quite clear. Except for strategic purposes, the groups are practically valueless, being little more than coral islets with a population of savages and cannibals.

Jan. 29. While the Great Powers were in session on Poland, the real work of the day was in private conferences being held for the purpose of finding a solution of the issue over the German colonies. The proposal to annex these colonies is regarded in American quarters as a "territorial grab." Against this the President has brought forward a counter-proposal for the administration of these colonies by "mandatories." This is the first that the Peace Conference has heard of "mandatories," and it is turning over the word and asking many questions as to its meaning. It is explained in American quarters that the "mandatory" is selected by the League of Nations, which retains the general supervision over the colonies, requiring the mandatory to administer it in the interest of the native population instead of exploiting it for self-enrichment.

This "mandatory" principle has raised another rather sharp issue with the French, who are with Hughes of Australia in favoring out-and-out annexation. The French have already established a colonial empire in Northwest Africa stretching from Algeria and Morocco down to the Belgian Congo. If they now add German Togoland and the Cameroons, they do not want this little corner to be under the benevolent supervision of a "mandatory" watched by the League of Nations.

Just what the mandatory principle is, is not clear to many of the delegates, and when one of the Chinese mem-

bers was told today that "mandatories will settle it," he asked:

"Who is Mandatory?"

It was explained that it is a principle devised by the President, and not a French Marshal, as the Chinese delegate had supposed.

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General Smuts and Colonel House had a series of conferences throughout the day, seeking to adjust the conflict between the annexationist element on one hand and the mandatory element on the other. Colonel House was the intermediary with the President, while General Smuts was the intermediary with Lloyd George and the British Imperial Cabinet, which the Prime Minister suddenly assembled late in the day to pass on the question one way or the other. Hughes of Australia had assumed a rather threatening attitude, and it was because of this that Lloyd George now called together the supreme British authority, the Imperial Cabinet, composed of the ministers of the home government and of all the colonies. With this meeting impending, General Smuts and Colonel House had been very busy seeking to find some middle ground of adjustment. When I saw the Colonel toward noon he said:

"We are very near together, and have agreed on a text and reduced it to writing. I have sent it over to the President, and if he approves it the matter will be settled."

The revised plan preserves the mandatory principle and gives the supervision of colonies to the League of Nations. But the annexationist element are given a certain compensation, in giving to the mandatory very large ad-

ministrative power, amounting to practically complete control over the colony, as long as there is no abuse of the native population.

Late in the day the British Imperial Cabinet met at the Majestic, and after hearing the report of Smuts, and the angry protests of Hughes, definitely and finally decided to accept the American plan of mandatories for governing the former German colonies. This is a sweeping victory for an entirely new order of affairs. It is moreover a severe blow to the fiery Australian, Hughes, who is muttering that the Empire is in danger. Also it is another reverse for Clemenceau and French colonial policy.

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Just how the diplomatic game is proceeding is best understood by another momentary glimpse behind the scenes, at the secret meeting of the Council yesterday. It discloses that while Mr. Balfour personally favors the Mandatory system, yet the British Dominions and France are holding out for outright annexation of the German colonies, so as to establish complete sovereignty over them. This outright division of the spoils is being combated by President Wilson with all his might, and he has given solemn warning that: "The world will say that the Great Powers have first parceled out the helpless parts of the world, and then formed a League of Nations." In the course of the discussion there was this significant exchange:

Mr. Balfour—Is it not true that whilst a good deal of thought has been given to the League of Nations very little thought has been given to the position of a Mandatory power. Broadly speaking, as far as the greater part of the areas conquered by British arms and managed from London

are concerned, the idea of a Mandatory is regarded with favor. The objections so far raised have been made, not as regards areas under the direct control of the capital of the Empire, but as regards the areas conquered by the self-governing Dominions within that Empire. Therefore, it might be said that the delegates of the British Empire are not antagonistic to the principle of the Mandatory. I myself am strongly in favor of the principle but I am conscious that it has not been worked out. I know of no paper in which the practical difficulties have been faced and worked out in detail.

PRESIDENT WILSON—I agree with Mr. Balfour that there are many points to be cleared up. I admit that the idea is a new one, and that it is not to be found in any records or statements. The trusteeship under the Mandatory system is quite different from the French plan proposed by M. Simon. The former assumes trusteeship on the part of the League of Nations; the latter implies definite sovereignty. It can be pointed out that Australia claims sovereignty over German New Guinea; the Union of South Africa claims sovereignty over South West Africa; and Japan over the leased territory of Shantung and the Caroline Islands; while France claims a modified sovereignty over the Cameroons and Togoland under certain terms. We must consider how this Treaty will look to the world. The world will say that the Great Powers first parceled out the helpless parts of the world, and then formed a League of Nations. The crude fact will be that each of these parts of the world had been assigned to one of the Great Powers. I wish to point out, in all frankness that the world will not accept such action. It would make the League of

Nations impossible and we would have to return to the system of competitive armaments with accumulating debts and a burden of great arms. There must be a League of Nations, and we cannot return to the *status quo ante.* The League of Nations would be a laughing-stock if it were not invested with this quality of trusteeship. I feel this so intensely that I hope that those present will not think that I have any personal antagonism. To secure it no sacrifice would be too great. It is unfortunate that the United States cannot make any sacrifice in this particular case as she holds none of the territories in dispute. But her people would feel that their sacrifices in coming into the war had been in vain, if the men returning home only came back to be trained in arms and to bear the increased burden of competitive armaments. In that case the United States would have to have a greatly increased navy and maintain a large standing army. This would be so intolerable to the thought of Europe, that we would see this great wave from the East, which would involve the very existence of society, gather fresh volume because the people of the world would not permit the parceling out among the Great Powers of the helpless countries conquered from Germany. I feel this so solemnly that I urge them to give it careful thought.

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Jan. 30. An official communiqué issued tonight makes the announcement that "a provisional agreement has been reached on the German colonies and the occupied territory of Turkey-in-Asia." This gives official confirmation to the acceptance by the great powers of the American proposal put forward by the President for the administration

of the colonies by mandatories, appointed and supervised by the League of Nations. The provisional agreement referred to in the communiqué is the Smuts-House plan approved by the President and the British Imperial Cabinet. The reference to Turkey-in-Asia discloses for the first time that Mesopotamia, Palestine, Armenia, and Syria come within the scope of this new colonial policy, so that if England and France divide up Turkey when the break-up comes, they must do it under "mandatories."

Thus has suddenly come within range of practical accomplishment the most sweeping revolution in colonial management that has ever occurred. The basic idea of this change is that hereafter colonies shall be administered for the benefit of their own people, and shall not be a field of profit-making enterprises. The exchanges now going on indicate that the principle will be accepted by all the colonial powers, including Japan, Belgium, Portugal, as well as the great colonizers, England and France.

* * *

President Wilson told the Supreme Council at its secret session to-day that the American people would be most disinclined to become a Mandatory over a foreign colony or a province of Turkey, but that he might succeed in this case, as he had in others, in getting the people to accept such a burden. He added, however, that if it were even suggested that American troops occupy Constantinople or Mesopotamia, it was evident they could not do so as the United States was not at war with Turkey. This would seem to apply equally to Armenia, but the President did not say so. It seemed, however, to indicate clearly to the

French and English that if there is any occupying of Constantinople they will have to do it, as the President says American troops cannot do it. The exchange was as follows:

Mr. Lloyd George—Great Britain has deliberately decided to accept the principle of a Mandatory; but that decision has not been wholly accepted by the Dominions. The Dominions however, are prepared to accept the conclusions reached in the compromise document, because they fully realize that there could be no greater catastrophe than for the delegates to separate without having come to a definite decision. It has been decided to accept the doctrine of a Mandatory for all conquests in the late Turkish Empire and in the German colonies.

Mr. Hughes, Premier of Australia—The members of the Conference know that Australia desired direct control. But Australia fully recognizes that grave interests involving the fate of humanity are at stake, and therefore I do not feel justified in opposing the views of President Wilson and those of Mr. Lloyd George beyond the point which would reasonably safeguard the interests of Australia.

President Wilson, speaking further as to Mandatories, referred to the suggestion that America should act as a Mandatory. The people of America, he said, would be most disinclined to do so. He himself had succeeded in getting the people of America to do many things, and he might succeed in getting them to accept this burden also. But even if it was suggested that American troops should occupy Constantinople or Mesopotamia, it was evident that they could not do so as they were not at war with Turkey. Therefore, it would, in his opinion, be extremely unwise

to accept any form of Mandate until they knew how it was intended to work.

A resolution was finally drafted reciting that "In no circumstances should any of the German colonies be restored to Germany"; also "That Armenia, Syria, Mesopotamia, Palestine and Arabia must be completely severed from the Turkish Empire, without prejudice to the settlement of other parts of the Turkish Empire." Also establishing the principle of Mandatories over colonies and specifying the different kinds of Mandatories.

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As the general public is so much mystified over the meaning of this new system of Mandatories, a semi-official explanation has been issued from American headquarters. It states that there are three plans for disposing of territory: first, by annexation; second, by joint international agreement; and, third, by the Mandatory system. As to this it says:

The third proposal is the mandatory system, which is included in practically all plans for the League of Nations, including the American. There are, however, two conceptions to this principle which are now under examination. The first is that the trustee would be the League of Nations itself working through a special state as its agent but necessarily reserving to itself detailed powers of oversight and requiring provisions for expenditures of money and the like. The second is that the trustees be one of the members of the League of Nations working under a definite mandate limiting its powers in certain respects and responsible periodically to the League for the justice of its administration.

Certain general principles of the mandate, however, are clear. First, the state chosen would be, so far as possible, the choice of the peoples to be governed. Second, principles would be enunciated assuring the open door for equal commercial opportunity for all nations, forbidding the maintenance of greater military forces than required for police work, and assuring the right of appeal to the League in any case of injustice, either on behalf of the people involved or of other nations. Opinion is inclining also to give the trust to the mandatory nation in perpetuity in order to secure stimulus for development, but under the express understanding that it may be revoked for cause of misgovernment or with the passage of the need, as for instance, through the development of the people to self-government.

It will be noted that this semi-official explanation specifies several highly important principles underlying the Mandatory system, namely:

1. The Mandatory is to be the choice of the people to be governed so far as this is possible.

2. The Open-Door is to prevail in countries under Mandatories, so that all nations will have equal rights in trading with these countries.

3. Military force in countries under Mandatories is to be restricted to forces necessary for policing.

4. There is an "inclining opinion" favorable to granting of Mandatories in perpetuity, as a "stimulus to development." This sounds something like revised phraseology for what was formerly called by the harsher term of "exploitation."

It is not yet clear whether these principles really have

the approval of those in authority or are designed merely to fortify public sentiment.

* * *

Jan. 31. Since the administration of colonies has been revolutionized by the acceptance of the President's plan of mandatories under the League of Nations, it is necessary to give the League of Nations body and substance without any further delay so that it may perform the important function now committed to it. Thus far it has been a vague ideal; now it must be a real thing. Appreciating this, the President is directing all his efforts to make the League a reality, so as to fulfill the conditions on which the mandatory system was accepted. It appears that the acceptance by France and some other countries was somewhat reluctant and only with the proviso that the League draft would present a workable plan for carrying out these mandatories. With this in view the President had a meeting at his private study last night with Lord Robert Cecil, Premier Orlando, Leon Bourgeois, and Colonel House, representing the elements most active in shaping the League. Tonight they are at it again, and they hope at these night meetings to evolve a definite draft of the League for early submission to the Peace Conference.

The Council of the Great Powers also heard the Poles and Czecho-slovaks on the fighting that has begun between their military forces in Silesia. A warning has been given both sides that the fighting must stop.

* * *

President Wilson today received a telegram from M. Tchicherin, the Bolshevist Minister of Foreign Affairs, and

communicated the gist of the despatch to the Supreme Council. That the Bolshevist Minister had addressed the President was not made public, nor was the text of the telegram, and it was only the purport of it that the President gave the Council. Another brief glance behind the scenes shows this colloquy at today's session:

PRESIDENT WILSON asked permission to communicate to the conference the gist of a telegram which he had received from M. Tchicherin, the Commissioner for Foreign Affairs of the Bolshevik Government. In this telegram M. Tchicherin said that he had seen in the press some reference to the summoning of Russian delegates at Prinkipo, and he wished for an official invitation. President Wilson said he wished to know what action should be taken. To send an official invitation would be tantamount to a recognition of the Bolshevik Government.

MR. LLOYD GEORGE said M. Tchicherin had received his notice like everybody else.

PRESIDENT WILSON pointed out that the notification had been made to the press and not in a direct manner. He said he was quite willing to ignore M. Tchicherin's request, but the Great Powers were anxious to get these delegates together, and perhaps an answer should be sent to take away the excuse that they had received no invitation to attend the meeting. Apparently M. Tchicherin wanted a personal invitation.

It was decided to adjourn the question for further consideration.

* * *

Feb. 1. I was permitted to have a look at the accord

which the Great Powers have reached on the disposal of the German colonies. I noticed that it was marked "secret" in large letters on the upper left-hand corner, which indicates that secret diplomacy is not entirely a thing of the past.

The accord, I noted, has nine headings which run much like this:

First, the allied and associated governments agree that the colonies shall not be returned to Germany, because of mismanagement, cruelty to the natives, and the use of the colonies as submarine bases during the war.

Second, Armenia, Palestine, Mesopotamia, Syria, and Arabia shall be permanently detached from the Turkish Empire.

Third, the German colonies and former Turkish dependencies shall be regarded as a "sacred trust of civilization"—I noted these precise words—and the League of Nations shall be created to watch over this trust.

Fourth, the colonies are to be administered by mandatories, chosen from among the highly developed nations, to watch over the tutelage of the backward nations.

Fifth, mandatories are not to be alike in all cases, but are to differ according to the state of civilization of the backward community and its approach to the stage of self-government.

Sixth, the mandatories of some advanced communities, as Syria, Palestine, Mesopotamia, and Armenia, will be light, and the local laws and customs will largely prevail.

Seventh, in other regions, as in Central Africa, where civilization is low, the mandatory will be responsible in the main, for suppressing the slave trade, the liquor traffic,

the sale of arms and ammunition, and the military training of natives except for police duty.

Eighth, in other regions, as in Southwest Africa and some of the Pacific Islands, where the population is sparse, the laws of the mandatory will largely prevail as an integral part of the law of the colonies.

The ninth paragraph (which was unnumbered) required mandatories to make reports at stated intervals to the League of Nations on the manner of administering these colonies.

The foregoing is the middle ground reached between Wilson and Lloyd George and finally accepted by all the colonial powers. The President had proposed it as a foil against the policy of loot. It now develops that after its acceptance by the British Imperial Cabinet, Lloyd George took the initiative in introducing it in the Council of the Great Powers, where with the United States and England together in its support, it was accepted rather reluctantly by France, Italy, and Japan. Belgium and Portugal, being Small Powers with colonies, were also called into the Council and they too accepted the new policy. And thus at a stroke all the colonial powers of the world are agreed on this revolutionary measure for the administration of colonies.

* * *

The fate of the fifth of the President's Fourteen Points, for an impartial adjustment of all colonial claims, is much in doubt since the agreement not to return Germany her former colonies, and to detach Armenia, Palestine, Mesopotamia and Syria from Turkey. The semi-official explanation from American headquarters says that as colonies

are now to be under Mandatories "the basic purpose will be to assure the execution of President Wilson's fifth point," which provided that the interests of the native people affected shall be of equal weight in the determination of sovereignty with the interests of a claimant. It would appear from this that the "impartial adjustment of all colonial claims" referred to by the President did not mean that Germany's claims to her former colonies were to be impartially adjusted, but that it was the rival claims of Australia, Japan and the others seeking to get these colonies which were to have a "free, open-minded and absolutely impartial adjustment." In this view the President's fifth point is sustained, but if the point really meant that Germany's claims were to be impartially adjusted then the fifth point has failed.

CHAPTER XVII

STRENUOUS DAYS: THE COVENANT TAKES FORM— ISLAM AND DEMOCRACY

Feb. 3. The President is setting a strenuous pace in order to secure definite results before he goes home ten days hence to meet Congress prior to its final adjournment on March fourth. He is working night and day to make the League Covenant an accomplished fact, and take it home with him in his pocket. To that end he is attending the sessions of the Council of the Great Powers during the day, and he proposes at night to keep the commission on the League in continuous session until a draft has been completed.

This was the first day of the President's new speeding-up program, with the Supreme Council by day and the League commission by night. Through the morning the President was with the Council at the Foreign Office, hearing Premier Venizelos of Greece on the Greek claims to Thrace, Asia Minor, and Constantinople. Later he was the central figure at a ceremonious reception given in his honor by the Chamber of Deputies, when M. Déchanel, President of the Chamber, and the President exchanged felicitations on Franco-American relations, and the President received an enthusiastic welcome.

The first meeting of the League of Nations Commission, with the President as chairman, came late in the day after a continuous series of activities. The opening meeting

was held at the American headquarters, in the large dining room of Colonel House's apartment. In order to be strictly diplomatic the dining cloth had been removed and a green baize cloth was duly spread for the covenanters to open their deliberations. The personnel of the commission, fifteen in all, was exceptionally interesting, and made as a whole a very strong committee. As designated in the communiqué, the membership was as follows:

United States—President Wilson, Hon. Edward M. House.
Great Britain—Rt. Hon. Lord Robert Cecil, Lieut. General Rt. Hon. J. C. Smuts.
France—M. Leon Bourgeois, M. Larnaude.
Italy—M. Orlando, M. Scialoja.
Japan—Baron Makino, Vicomte Chinda.
Belgium—M. Hymans.
Brazil—M. Epitacio Pessoa.
China—Wellington Koo.
Portugal—M. Jayme Batalah Reis.
Serbia—M. Vesnitch.

As thus constituted, there were five Great Powers and five Small Powers. But as each of the Great Powers was represented by two delegates, while the Small Powers had one delegate, the voting strength of the Great Powers was two to one. M. Hymans called attention to this good-naturedly at the outset, but beneath the good nature there was some evident feeling.

The President gave his commission a cordial greeting, and at once proceeded to business by laying before them a

fully printed draft of the proposed Covenant. This was examined with interest, but a difficulty at once arose which had not been anticipated. The draft was printed in English, but neither of the French delegates, M. Bourgeois and Professor Larnaude, could read English, nor could Premier Orlando of Italy, nor the other Italian delegate. Moreover, none of these gentlemen could speak English, and it was clear that the debates of the commission were going to be rather awkward, as the French-Italian element could not understand what the English-speaking element said, and *vice versa.* It meant the tedious interpreting of every word.

M. Bourgeois finally asked that a French print be made before the commission undertook to proceed, and to meet this request the meeting went over until tomorrow night. The President was disappointed that so little had been accomplished. But at least a start had been made, and the weird statements made by the first official communiqué issued tonight from the league commission make up for all deficiencies. This communiqué is given as a curiosity:

Feb. 3, 1919.

DRAFT COMMUNIQUÉ

The commission of the League of Nations met to compare views as to procedure and to arrive at a method of procedure which would facilitate progress.

It was agreed that an accord in principle had been reached by the resolution previously passed by the Peace Conference, and that discussion should proceed accordingly at the next meeting, which is called for 8:30 tomorrow evening at American headquarters.

This communiqué was the joint production of two Oxford graduates, Lord Eustace Percy, representing England, and Mr. Shepardson, representing the United States, the latter having been one of the American Rhodes scholars who went through Oxford with distinction. They formed the secretariat of the league commission, with representatives also from France, M. Clausel, and Italy, M. Ricci Busatti.

* * *

Feb. 4. The President presided again tonight at the meeting of the commission on the League of Nations. The text of the covenant was now ready both in French and in English, so that the discussion proceeded article by article. The preamble received first attention, some desiring a brief declaratory statement, while others proposed a lofty expression of the ideals underlying the proposal. It soon developed that the commission was made up of speech makers, and that all of the delegates were charged with views which were likely to take considerable time. Most of the session, extending until midnight, was taken with speeches. The President looked rather weary as he came from the meeting after midnight, and Colonel House, when besieged for a word of what had been done, said regretfully: "Talk, talk, talk."

The project as now under consideration is being kept secret, but since printed drafts are distributed among members the main features are becoming known. It appears that there were two drafts, one following the other, and both credited largely to the President, although Lord Robert Cecil and General Smuts are said also to have had a hand in both of them. The first draft proposed a legisla-

tive, executive, and judicial organization. The legislative branch was to be formed of delegates from all nations, great and small, each being a unit. The executive branch was to be constituted by a council of two delegates from each of the Great Powers—ten in all—and nine delegates from the Small Powers, thus giving the Great Powers a majority of one in the executive council. The judicial branch was to be by arbitration. Each side in the dispute was to choose an arbitrator; these two selected a third; the three formed the arbitration tribunal.

The revised draft preserves the legislative representation of the Great and Small powers alike. But the executive branch is changed by the elimination of the nine delegates of small states, thus leaving the delegates of the Great Powers as the sole executive authority, though they may call in delegates of Small Powers when their interests are affected. The arbitration tribunal also disappears, and the executive council becomes the tribunal for determining international controversies, as a sort of international supreme court administering international law.

The Small Powers objected to the first draft because they were outnumbered on the executive council. They object also to the second draft because it even further limits their part in the organization. They are preparing a series of amendments, and they have announced a meeting for tomorrow at which they will demand a larger membership on the commission which is getting up the project.

* * *

The magnitude of this new project is becoming apparent as its discussion goes on in the commission. It is a vast proposal; one which will transform the world if it is real-

ized, or else will prove the most colossal fiasco the world has ever known. The President and all those about him seem thoroughly convinced that the plan will be worked out to a practical conclusion. The vastness of the task seems impossible of completion within the eleven days remaining before the President sails for America. When I asked Colonel House if he thought the project would be completed in time for the President to carry it back with him, the Colonel replied:

"I hope so, but really it is a huge work and the chances are about even as to finishing it in such a short time."

"Do you feel the President has accomplished much at the Conference so far?" was asked.

"Yes, he has accomplished a great deal." And the Colonel went on to specify the President's notable series of successes—the decision on the German colonies and the principle of mandatories in colonial management; the lead the President had taken in giving the Russian factions a chance to get together; the adoption of the principle of the League of Nations as the first definite business of the Peace Conference.

* * *

Feb 5. A communiqué issued this morning says that the commission on the League, after being in session four hours last night "provisionally agreed upon the preamble and first two articles" and made "satisfactory progress" on the remaining articles of the project. Colonel House repeated today that while the preambles and two articles had been completed, yet all was subject to change, and he seemed doubtful as to securing final results before the President goes back home. Koo, the Chinese delegate,

says the preamble is much more than glittering generalities and contains some very serious and far-reaching declarations.

The Small Powers held their meeting of protest at the Foreign Office this afternoon. It was decided to ask for four more members on the commission preparing the League of Nations covenant. The four nations to be represented are Greece, Poland, Roumania, and Czecho-slovakia. If the Great Powers accede to this—and they probably will in order to avoid trouble—the League of Nations commission will have nine Small Powers represented, against the five Great Powers. But with two delegates voting for each of the Great Powers the latter will still retain a slender majority of one vote.

The Council of Ten at its session today decided to send the case of Czecho-slovakia to a commission of experts. The council is clearly adopting this method of dealing with territorial claims, sending them to commissions, or, in the vernacular, "passing the buck." There are now commissions on Poland, Roumania, Greece, and Czecho-slovakia.

* * *

Feb. 6. Again the President was with the commission on the League Covenant until after midnight tonight. By these unusual night meetings the commission has finished a third of the work, "provisionally," and "in principle." The rub will come in trying to agree on details instead of principles. The small powers have won their fight for a larger representation on the commission, and their four additional delegates sat with the commission for the first time today. This makes, in addition to the personnel already given, the following new membership:

Greece—M. Venizelos.
Poland—M. Dmowski.
Roumania—M. Diamandy.
Czecho-slovakia—M. Kramarz.

This is a strengthening of the commission, notably in Venizelos and Kramarz, both of whom are premiers of their countries. The communiqué gives with some definiteness the progress being made on the league project.

February 6, 1919.

DRAFT COMMUNIQUÉ

The commission on the League of Nations held its third meeting last night at 8:30 P. M. Appreciable progress was made in the consideration of the draft. It was further unanimously agreed in accordance with the decision of the Conference at the Quai d'Orsay yesterday that representatives of Czecho-slovakia, Greece, Poland, and Roumania should be associated with the commission in its deliberations.

In their second and third sessions, the commission have covered practically one third of their task. They have discussed those articles which deal with the motives behind the formation of the League of Nations, and the objects which it will safeguard, the constitution of its chief organs, and the qualification for membership in the League.

While the decisions of the commission with regard to each article are provisional, many apparent difficulties have already been resolved and general agreement has been reached on principles which underlie the whole draft. It is therefore to be expected that the remaining articles will be covered quickly.

It will be noticed that Oxford English is still employed in the communiqués, notably in "the motives behind the formation of the League" and the "principles which underlie the whole draft." When one of the members of the commission was asked the meaning of this reference to "the motives behind the formation of the League," he replied, "I really don't know what that can possibly mean."

* * *

The Emir of Arabia, direct descendant of Mohammed, was before the Supreme Council today, and President Wilson took an active part in questioning him as to the kind of government the Arabs want. Emir Feisal is one of the picturesque figures of the Peace Conference. His father, the King of Hedjaz, rules over Mecca, the seat of Islam since the days of the first Mohammed, from whom the present King and the Emir trace their direct lineage. The Emir is a young man of swarthy Arab hue with finely-cut features. He wears a silken turban and flowing robes of soft gray silk edged with scarlet. It was a striking picture as this descendant of Mohammed stood there today in the Council chamber answering the questions of President Wilson—Islam interrogated by Democracy. Another glimpse behind the scenes shows this colloquy:

Emir Feisal, replying to President Wilson, said that neither he nor his father, the King of Hedjaz, nor he thought any person now living, would be ready to assume the responsibility of deciding whether there should be a single Mandatory over his people, or several. That must be for the Arab people to declare their wishes for themselves in respect to a Mandatory authority. He was here

to ask for the independence of his people and for their right to choose their own Mandatory.

PRESIDENT WILSON—I understand that perfectly but would like to know the Emir's personal opinion.

EMIR FEISAL—Personally I am rather afraid of partition. My principle is for Arab unity. It was for this that the Arabs fought. Any other solution would be regarded by the Arabs in the light of a division of spoils after a battle. The Arabs ask for freedom only and can take nothing else.

EMIR FEISAL gave an interesting account of the Arab movement against the Turks, headed by his father, King of Hedjaz, who was hereditary Governor of Mecca, a position held by the family for 800 years; he also gave an extended presentation of the issues over Arabia and Syria.

* * *

Feb. 7. Marshal Foch and General Pershing joined the Council of Great Powers today to discuss new terms for renewing the German Armistice which again expires on the 17th. Foch is for drastic new terms, even the allied occupation of Essen. But the indications are that the rule of the military authorities is nearing its end, and that the President will probably take the lead in a decisive movement giving the civilian authorities of the Peace Conference the direction of affairs, now that the military have completed their work on the field of warfare. A resolution has been drawn, which the President will probably present tomorrow, practically relieving the military from further direction of anything beyond strictly military operations. At the meeting today the drastic proposals presented by Foch came to naught. The military were heard

and then told they need not return tomorrow, when the Council will make a decision on the Armistice without the military commanders present.

* * *

The commission on the League was again at work tonight, and the communiqué sums up what was done as follows:

February 7, 1919.

OFFICIAL COMMUNIQUÉ

The Commission provisionally approved a number of additional articles of the draft. The approval of these articles marks an accord on certain questions of the greatest importance concerning the positive functions of the League. Substantially one half of the draft has now been covered.

Feb. 8. The President has given a very emphatic challenge to Marshal Foch and the military element in general. At the meeting of the Supreme Council he put through the resolution previously drawn, practically taking things out of the hands of the military chiefs and placing them in the hands of civilians—a peace régime instead of a war régime. This is particularly opposed to the drastic measures proposed by Foch as additional armistice terms to Germany: occupation of Essen, limitation of the number of German divisions, Hindenburg to fall back from Eastern Prussia where the Poles are seeking to establish a line from Danzig to Thorn.

Instead of this military régime with its drastic terms, the President's resolution establishes a Supreme Economic

Council which is to take charge of all questions affecting blockade, raw material, food, relief, etc., and is to thus institute an economic régime by civilians in place of the former war régime by the military chiefs. This is likely to precipitate a struggle, as Foch has French sentiment behind him in the belief that the German menace is so great that decisive military measures are necessary to combat it.

* * *

Lord Milner, who has taken Lloyd George's place temporarily, came to American headquarters at noon for a long talk with Secretary Lansing on the President's plan to turn things over from the military to the civilian chiefs. General Pershing arrived about the same time, and then André Tardieu with his large portfolio. They were together for a long time trying to smooth down some of the rough features of the proposal so as not to grate too harshly on the military. Lord Milner, like Lloyd George, has yielded to the President, while Clemenceau and Foch are being carried along by the force of adverse opinion. It amounts to another reverse for French officialdom, and they are storing it up against the President.

General Pershing was asked by a party of callers as to the report that the American troops were showing very friendly sentiments toward the Germans in the sections of American occupation around Coblenz.

"That is quite so," replied the General, with bluff frankness, "and why shouldn't it be so? When our men get treated well, are given good food, good beds, and good living, it is rather natural for them to express their satisfaction. Our men have the sporting instinct; they don't believe in hitting a man when he is down. There are some

people who don't seem to know what that sporting instinct means, and they are the ones who think it strange that our men are gratified at being treated decently."

* * *

The President was with the League commission during two sessions today, morning and night. A very hopeful outlook was expressed at the close, and the communiqué states that the commission is "nearing the end of its task." It seems, however, that there are still some knotty points, for a special committee of four members has been designated "for purposes of clarification." The committee is to meet tomorrow morning at Lord Robert Cecil's quarters, despite the fact that it is Sunday, as the President is so anxious to get this clarification over with. The communiqué says:

At the end of the meeting the commission finds itself nearing the end of its task. Only a few articles of the draft remain to be formally presented to the members of the commission for discussion. A few matters, referred to a drafting committee for purposes of clarification, still require reference back to the commission, and certain points provisionably accepted may be reopened for discussion before the commission makes its final report to the Peace Conference. On Sunday afternoon the drafting committee consisting of M. Hymans, M. Bourgeois, Lord Robert Cecil, and M. Venizelos will meet in Lord Robert Cecil's rooms at the Hotel Majestic.

* * *

Feb. 9. It was related today that the "clarification committee," appointed to work out certain details of the

league draft, was made up of the members who are "doing all the talking." This is a very distinguished committee of "talkers"—including the Premier of Greece, a former Premier of France, and the Foreign Minister of Belgium. The idea is that as they have kept the commission inactive by their talking it would be well to establish them as a special committee so they could talk to each other to their heart's content.

CHAPTER XVIII

STORM SIGNALS—THE PRESIDENT'S WARNING—THE COVENANT REALIZED

Feb. 10. Extreme tension marks the closing week of the President's stay. He is ready to sail next Saturday and all preparations have been made, and yet dark clouds are gathering in conference quarters and there is a general atmosphere of distrust and bitterness prevailing, with the fate of the League Covenant still very much in doubt. This high tension brought about three sensational developments today.

Early in the day attention was centered on an article appearing in the *Figaro*, written by Alfred Capus, the distinguished academician and editor of the *Figaro*. It is the first open attack on the President since he has been in Paris, and it is construed as reflecting the view prevailing in high French quarters, particularly the military quarters, concerning the President's course. Capus' article is in no sense a brutal attack, as the French do not deliver their blows in that fashion, but it is none the less a brilliant and telling criticism of the President's idealism and the dangers this presents to France and the world.

"President Wilson has lightly assumed a responsibility such as few men have ever borne," says Capus. "Success in his idealistic efforts will surely place him among the greatest characters of history. But failure will plunge the

world into chaos and will make the responsible author of this chaos one of the most pitiful figures that history has ever presented."

There was much more in this line, all tending to show that the practical requirements of France, and the German military menace always against her, were being lost to sight by the President's persistence in keeping the League of Nations as the sole subject in the foreground.

Coincident with this publication appeared a long and important interview with M. Clemenceau, this being the first public utterance he has made outside of the formal sessions of the Peace Conference. The Clemenceau interview is in no sense an attack on the President, but it sounds a solemn note of warning against France being sacrificed in the attainment of high but vague general ideals. These two statements, of Clemenceau and Capus, sent a buzz of comment throughout Conference circles.

Toward noon the Conference had its third sensation when it learned that the President had given intimations of a very definite character that the removal of the Peace Conference away from Paris to another capital, or to Geneva, was under consideration. It was made known that a removal to another city was designed to relieve the Peace Conference from being subject to those influences likely to be met at a large center like Paris. One of the President's most trusted associates made known the prevailing view, and it was arranged that the committee on public information should expedite the dispatches informing the outside world of the possibilities of this change in the seat of the Conference.

* * *

Such a warning direct from the President stirred Conference circles to their very depths. It disclosed the President's resentment at what he regards as persistent opposition to his policies and himself, and it brought out equally intense resentment in French and other quarters. The warning is generally regarded, however, as a *ballon d'essai,* as there seems to be no real purpose of actually moving the Conference away from Paris. When I visited the American secretariat, where all the physical arrangements are made, they knew nothing of a move, and dismissed it as quite out of the question, as they have such a huge establishment here it is too firmly anchored to permit a removal.

It is among the French that the sting of the warning is felt most, though the feeling permeates many other delegations. Late in the day care was taken to see that the report of a removal from Paris was censored out of the French and European papers, as it was felt that an agitation might be aroused which would prove distinctly harmful. Colonel House has taken a leading part in calming the storm. He believes it would have been better in the first place to have located the Peace Conference at some small neutral point, like Geneva or Lausanne, away from the intrigues of a capital, but now that it is located here, the Colonel is seeking to avoid any open breach.

Clemenceau hurried over to American headquarters early in the afternoon. He was evidently disturbed and was seeking Colonel House to learn if there was any truth in the report, which had by this time reached him, that the President was thinking of asking the Peace Conference to leave Paris. Just what he learned was not disclosed.

All this outburst of feeling has come just as the commission on the league of nations is trying to complete its work, and the President is absorbed in leaving at the end of this week with the League Covenant in his pocket. The commission held three sessions today—morning, afternoon, and night—trying to perfect the draft. No final results were secured, and the outlook begins to be ominous in view of the developments of the day.

* * *

Colonel House chanced to speak today of how amenable the President is to advice on the various questions before the Conference.

"The President welcomes advice," said the Colonel, "and let me tell you something that may surprise you: I have never in all my life known a public man who was so open to advice as Woodrow Wilson. That seems inconsistent with the popular idea of the President's stubbornness. But he proceeds in this way: whenever a question is presented he keeps an absolutely open mind and welcomes all suggestion or advice which will lead to a correct decision; he listens with the greatest patience and weighs whatever may be presented. But he is receptive only during the period that he is weighing the question and preparing to make his decision. Once the decision is made it is final and there is an absolute end to all advice and suggestion. There is no moving him after that. People who go to him then find that his mind is absolutely fixed and that he cannot be moved in the slightest. It is this inflexible determination, once his decision is made, that leads people to believe he is stubborn. But it is the real secret of his

strength: to take advice freely; then to reach his decision; then to be immovable."

"Isn't it because the advice comes from certain individuals—from you—that the President accepts it?" the Colonel was asked.

"No, it is not that, for he welcomes advice from any quarter up to the time his decision is reached, and as I say, I have never known any public man so ready to accept advice up to a certain point, and I have been in this business of advising public men all my life—men in and out of Congress and the White House, and governors of Texas. One of the old White House attendants told me he had been there twenty-five years, but I told him I beat him by twenty-five years, for I used to be around there back in the time of Grant."

* * *

Feb. 11. It became apparent for the first time tonight that the President might fail in his plan to carry back to America the draft of the League of Nations. After being together all day the league commission failed to reach a conclusion, and it became known that two sharp elements had developed which were now at a practical deadlock. The President, who had directed the commission all day in a vain effort to bring it together, left toward seven o'clock tonight in evident dejection. It was announced that the next meeting would not occur until next Thursday at 10:30 A. M. This is a lapse of two days, and in itself is ominous of disaster for the President. On Thursday only two days will be left before the time fixed for his sailing. It seems now almost impossible that the league project can be con-

summated, a plenary session of the Peace Conference assembled, and the league project officially presented, within those two final days of crisis.

The issue inside the commission has found the two French delegates, Bourgeois and Larnaude, lined up against all the other members, and particularly against the President. The French insist upon the creation of an international army as an adjunct to the League of Nations. They maintain that moral force and economic blockades will not suffice to put a stop to war. In particular they dread the menace of another German invasion, and they want an international military organization with an international general staff, which will give reality and force to the preventative and defensive measures of the league to prevent a renewal of warfare.

Bourgeois occupied most of the time today insisting on this international army. He spoke in French and was very tiresome. Whenever he hesitated Larnaude took up the same theme. It was quite apparent no progress could be made. Colonel House, who with the President represents the United States on the commission, tried to stop Bourgeois by explaining that such a project, for an international army, would be unconstitutional in the United States.

"Our constitution provides that Congress alone has the power to direct the American military and naval forces into measures of warfare," explained the Colonel, "so that if any such proposal as this were adopted, the United States could not be a party to it."

This, however, had no effect whatever on the French delegates and they were as persistent as ever for their in-

ternational army. It looked, also, as though they were carrying on obstructive tactics, for their lengthy debate gave promise of extending over tomorrow and the next day, although they knew every hour counted now on the President's chances of failure or success. After a whispered consultation the President finally announced that there would be an adjournment of two days, until Thursday. The President prefers to do nothing rather than carry on this futile struggle. The drafting committee will try and reconcile matters before the next meeting, and then will come the last heroic effort to give reality to the League.

I saw M. Vestnich of Serbia, one of the members of the drafting committee, after the meeting concluded tonight, and asked him as to the outlook for getting together.

"It is only fair, not more than that," he said, "for the differences are very sharply drawn."

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Feb. 12. The league covenant is in a state of suspended animation, and the Peace Conference is turning its attention to other things, being almost ready to accept the Covenant as laid to rest. The Supreme War Council was in session all day, again renewing the armistice terms with Germany, which expire on the 17th. The gathering today was impressive in bringing together the two French marshals, Foch and Petain, Marshal Haig, General Diaz of Italy, General Pershing, and the various naval commanders, as well as the President, prime ministers, and ministers of foreign affairs. For the first time, however, the civilian element was in control of affairs and virtually concluded the terms of the new armistice.

The new terms are a considerable modification of the drastic demands first presented by Foch. Enough of his plan is preserved, however, to make the agreement a compromise, and prevent too much of a reflection on the military. The main part of the Foch plan is for the disarmament of Germany so that she is no longer a danger to France, while the civilian terms proposed by the President contemplate negotiations over food relief and raw materials and a lightening of the blockade.

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Feb. 13. By a sudden *coup de théâtre* the Covenant of the League of Nations was unanimously agreed to at the meeting of the league commission tonight. It will be presented to a plenary session of the Peace Conference hurriedly called for 3 P. M. tomorrow. President Wilson will in person read to the Peace Conference the Covenant as now realized and will speak in its support. And with this triumph achieved the President will leave at 9 o'clock tomorrow night for Brest to sail on Saturday for America.

All this quick transformation came about late today, at a moment when hope for the League Covenant was almost abandoned, and after the President himself had left the commission feeling that the chances of success were slight indeed. When the commission reassembled at 10:30 this morning the situation seemed hopeless. Only six articles of the Covenant had been adopted, out of a total of twenty-seven. Bourgeois was still in the saddle insisting on his project of an international army. After two hours, with nothing accomplished, the President, weary and dejected, announced that he would not return to the meeting in the afternoon, but would leave to Lord Robert Cecil the direc-

tion of proceedings. After the recess Colonel House was very apprehensive over the outlook. "But things are always hopeful until they're hopeless," he said.

It was late this afternoon when Lord Robert Cecil called the commission together again. He proved to be a most adroit tactician, and while giving Bourgeois sufficient scope on his incessant talk for an international army, yet he managed to secure an agreement for a vote on Bourgeois' proposal. This brought a direct issue, and when the vote was taken only three votes—the two French delegates and the Czecho-slovak delegate—were recorded for the French proposition. All the rest were opposed, and the international army, which had been the chief obstruction, suddenly collapsed.

But at this point another danger appeared when the head of the Japanese delegation, Baron Makino, asked that a provision be incorporated in the Covenant, for racial equality in all international relations, so that the Japanese would stand on exactly the same footing as other nations. It was foreseen that such a clause in the League Covenant would provoke serious animosity, particularly in the United States. The Japanese were therefore urged not to press their amendment at this time. They finally yielded to this urgent request, so that this obstacle also was removed. This practically cleared the way of all objections, and Lord Robert Cecil deftly put to a vote the question of the adoption of the Covenant as a whole, and it was agreed to unanimously.

Thus out of a clear sky, and at the moment when defeat seemed to be staring the President in the face, success came for his project. He was highly gratified when he

learned of the successful results and plans were immediately made for his departure. The meeting of the Peace Conference in plenary session tomorrow afternoon will provide him the opportunity to make his final bow before leaving, and that done, he will depart in triumph with his Covenant in his pocket.

CHAPTER XIX

THE PRESIDENT LEAVES WITH THE COVENANT

Feb. 14. President Wilson started homeward tonight after he had read the Covenant of the League of Nations to the Peace Conference assembled in plenary session, and had heard the chorus of approval which greeted its presentation. He took the 9:20 train tonight for Brest, where he sails at noon tomorrow for America. Thus the first stage of the presidential pilgrimage has lasted just two months and the President goes back with his treasured Covenant in his pocket.

His departure tonight was in a torrential downpour with none of the demonstration which marked his arrival, but with every evidence of official and popular goodwill. President Poincaré and Clemenceau were at the train to bid him *bon voyage* and a speedy return. He assured them he would be back in a month, by March 15th.

The presentation of the Covenant was the most notable event that the Peace Conference has had thus far. The plenary session had the same solemn dignity as before, but there was an added sentiment everywhere prevailing that the achievement of the Covenant marked a distinct epoch, certainly in the Conference, and perhaps in the affairs of the world. For the first time Mrs. Wilson was present, and had an inconspicuous seat from which she could observe the President as he addressed the Confer-

ence. It was a one-event session with the Covenant as the sole subject for consideration.

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The President was recognized by Clemenceau as soon as the session began, and he proceeded at once with the presentation. He spoke in even tones, without gesture or emphasis, except toward the close, when he referred with suggestive emphasis to the fact that the League was not alone a moral force to prevent warfare, but had also a "background of armed force." There was a ring in his voice, too, when he exclaimed:

"This Covenant is definite in the one thing that we are called upon to make definite: It is a definite guarantee of Peace. It is a definite guarantee against aggression. It is a definite guarantee against the things which have just brought the world structure of civilization to the brink of ruin."

Much of the President's presentation was occupied in reading the text of the Covenant, which was heard for the first time by the delegates, with the exception of the members of the commission which had framed it. He explained the articles as he proceeded. It was an earnest speech but with none of the thrills and creeps of stirring oratory.

Lord Robert Cecil and Premier Orlando followed the President, each supporting the Covenant and paying a personal tribute to the President as the one who had made its achievement possible. There was one slight note of dissent when Bourgeois of the French delegation announced that, while no objection was presented for the moment, yet the French delegation reserved the right to

propose changes later on. This meant that the Bourgeois plan for an international army was not yet definitely laid to rest. Baron Makino, of Japan, also paid a tribute to the President and the Covenant, but he, too, announced that the Japanese made reservations and would have changes to propose later on. This meant that the Japanese plan of racial equality was not yet entirely removed from the path of the League.

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With the French and Japanese reservations in the way, no effort was made to adopt the Covenant. It was sufficient for the President to have secured a unanimous report from the commission, and to have had the personal advantage of presenting it to the Conference. With the speeches over, Clemenceau with his usual disregard of formalities, announced that, in the absence of further proposals, the session would be adjourned. Groups of delegates gathered about the President to grasp his hand in congratulation, and to say good-bye. It was 6 o'clock when he left the conference chamber for the Paris White House, and then at 9:15 he was back at the Gare des Invalides receiving the farewells of Clemenceau and many of the delegates.

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No vote was taken on the League Covenant, today or at any other time. M. Clemenceau's parliamentary methods are altogether original and decisive, doing away with the usual procedure of motions, votes and other parliamentary details. His method is something like this: When the proceedings have reached a certain stage and there is a lull in the speaking, M. Clemenceau rises and remarks that, as

he hears no objection, the pending proposal is adopted, or goes over, or the session is adjourned, according to the plans of the day. Everyone assents good-naturedly to these decisive methods, as they are rather admired for the relief they give from parliamentary formality.

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The President's address to the Peace Conference was probably the most important he has made in Europe, as it gave for the first time the terms of the Covenant on which he has centered all his hopes, and explained broadly the underlying principles of this new departure in world government. He said:

"Mr. Chairman: I have the honor and as I esteem it the very great privilege of reporting in the name of the commission constituted by this conference on the formulation of a plan for the League of Nations. I am happy to say that it is a unanimous report, a unanimous report from the representatives of fourteen nations—the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, Belgium, Brazil, China, Czecho-Slovak, Greece, Poland, Portugal, Roumania, and Serbia. I think it will be serviceable and interesting if I, with your permission, read the document as the only report we have to make."

The President then read the Covenant throughout, after which he proceeded:

"It gives me pleasure to add to this formal reading of the result of our labors that the character of the discussion which occurred at the sittings of the commission was not only of the most constructive but of the most encouraging sort. It was obvious throughout our discussions that, although there were subjects upon which there were indi-

vidual differences of judgment, with regard to the method by which our objects should be obtained, there was practically at no point any serious difference of opinion or motive as to the objects which we were seeking. Indeed, while these debates were not made the opportunity for the expression of enthusiasms and sentiments, I think the other members of the commission will agree with me that there was an undertone of high resolve and of enthusiasm for the thing we were trying to do, which was heartening throughout every meeting.

"Because we felt that in a way this conference had entrusted to us the expression of one of its highest and most important purposes, to see to it that the concord of the world in the future with regard to the objects of justice should not be subject to doubt or uncertainty; that the cooperation of the great body of nations should be assured from the first in the maintenance of peace upon the terms of honor and of the strict regard for international obligation. The compulsion of that task was constantly upon us, and at no point was there shown the slightest desire to do anything but suggest the best means to accomplish that great object.

"There is very great significance, therefore, in the fact that the result was reached unanimously. Fourteen nations were represented, among them all of those powers which for convenience we have called the Great Powers, and among the rest a representation of the greatest variety of circumstance and interest. So that I think we are justified in saying that it was a representative group of the members of this great conference. The significance of the result, therefore, has that deepest of all meanings, the union

of wills in a common purpose, a union of wills which cannot be resisted, and which I dare say no nation will run the risk of attempting to resist.

"Now as to the character of the document. While it has consumed some time to read this document, I think you will see at once that it is, after all, very simple, and in nothing so simple as in the structure which it suggests for the League of Nations—a body of delegates, an Executive Council, and a permanent secretariat. When it came to the question of determining the character of the representation in the Body of Delegates, we were all aware of a feeling which is current throughout the world. Inasmuch as I am stating it in the presence of official representatives of the various governments here present, including myself, I may say that there is a universal feeling that the world cannot rest satisfied with merely official guidance.

"There reached us through many channels the feeling that if the deliberative body of the League was merely to be a body of officials representing the various governments, the peoples of the world would not be sure that some of the mistakes which preoccupied officials had admittedly made might not be repeated. It was impossible to conceive a method or an assembly so large and various as to be really representative of the great body of the peoples of the world, because, as I roughly reckon it, we represent as we sit around this table more than twelve hundred million people.

"You cannot have a representative assembly of twelve hundred million people, but if you leave it to each government to have, if it pleases, one or two or three representatives, though only a single vote, it may vary its rep-

resentation from time to time, not only, but it may originate the choice of its several representatives, if it should have several, in different ways.

"Therefore, we thought that this was a proper and a very prudent concession to the practically universal opinion of plain men everywhere that they wanted the door left open to a variety of representation instead of being confined to a single official body with which they might or might not find themselves in sympathy.

"And you will notice that this body has unlimited rights of discussion—I mean of discussion of anything that falls within the field of international relationship—and that it is specially agreed that war or international misunderstandings or anything that may lead to friction and trouble is everybody's business, because it may affect the peace of the world. And in order to safeguard the popular power of this representative body, it is provided that when a subject is submitted, not to arbitration, but to discussion by the Executive Council, it can, upon the initiative of either one of the parties to the dispute, be drawn out of the Executive Council to the larger forum of the general body of delegates.

"Because throughout this instrument we are depending primarily and chiefly upon one great force, and that is the moral force of the public opinion of the world—the cleansing and clarifying and compelling influences of publicity; so that intrigues can no longer have their coverts, so that designs that are sinister can at any time be drawn into the open, so that those things that are destroyed by the light may be promptly destroyed by the overwhelming light of the universal expression of the condemnation of the world.

"Armed force is in the background in this programme, but it *is* in the background, and if the moral force of the world will not suffice, the physical force of the world shall. But that is the last resort, because this is intended as a constitution of peace, not as a league of war.

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"The simplicity of the document seems to me to be one of its chief virtues, because, speaking for myself, I was unable to foresee the variety of circumstances with which this league would have to deal. I was unable, therefore, to plan all the machinery that might be necessary to meet differing and unexpected contingencies. Therefore, I should say of this document that it is not a straitjacket, but a vehicle of life. A living thing is born, and we must see to it that the clothes we put upon it do not hamper it—a vehicle of power, but a vehicle in which power may be varied at the discretion of those who exercise it and in accordance with the changing circumstances of the time.

"And yet, while it is elastic, while it is general in its terms, it is definite in the one thing that we were called upon to make definite: It is a definite guarantee of peace. It is a definite guarantee against aggression. It is a definite guarantee against the things which have just come near bringing the whole structure of civilization to the brink of ruin. Its purposes do not for a moment lie vague. Its purposes are declared and its powers made unmistakable.

"It is not in contemplation that this should be merely a league to secure the peace of the world. It is a league which can be used for coöperation in any international matter. That is the significance of the provision intro-

duced concerning labor. There are many ameliorations of labor conditions which can be effected by conference and discussion. I anticipate that there will be a very great usefulness in the Bureau of Labor which it is contemplated shall be set up by the league. While men and women and children who work have been in the background through long ages, and sometimes seemed to be forgotten, while governments have had their watchful and suspicious eyes upon the maneuvers of one another, while the thought of statesmen has been about structural action and the large transactions of commerce and of finance, now, if I may believe the picture which I see, there comes into the foreground the great body of the laboring people of the world, the men and women and children upon whom the great burden of sustaining the world must from day to day fall, whether we wish it to do so or not; people who go to bed tired and wake up without the stimulation of lively hope. These people will be drawn into the field of international consultation and help, and will be among the wards of the combined governments of the world. There is, I take leave to say, a very great step in advance in the mere conception of that.

"Then, as you will notice, there is an imperative article concerning the publicity of all international agreements. Henceforth no member of the League can claim any agreement valid which it has not registered with the Secretary General, in whose office, of course, it will be subject to the examination of anybody representing a member of the League. And the duty is laid upon the Secretary General to publish every document of that sort at the earliest possible time. I suppose most persons who have not been

conversant with the business of foreign offices do not realize how many hundreds of these agreements are made in a single year, and how difficult it might be to publish the more unimportant of them immediately—how uninteresting it would be to most of the world to publish them immediately—but even they must be published just so soon as it is possible for the Secretary General to publish them.

"Then there is a feature about this covenant which to my mind is one of the greatest and most satisfactory advances that have been made. We are done with annexations of helpless people, meant in some instances by some powers to be used merely for exploitation. We recognize in the most solemn manner that the helpless and undeveloped peoples of the world, being in that condition, put an obligation upon us to look after their interests primarily before we use them for our interest; and that in all cases of this sort hereafter it shall be the duty of the League to see that the nations who are assigned as the tutors and advisers and directors of those peoples shall look to their interest and to their development before they look to the interests and material desires of the mandatory nation itself. There has been no greater advance than this, gentlemen.

"If you look back upon the history of the world you will see how helpless peoples have too often been a prey to powers that had no conscience in the matter. It has been one of the many distressing revelations of recent years that the great power which has just been happily defeated put intolerable burdens and injustices upon the helpless people of some of the colonies which it annexed to itself; that its interest was rather their extermination

than their development; that the desire was to possess their land for European purposes, and not to enjoy their confidence in order that mankind might be lifted in those places to the next higher level. Now, the world, expressing its conscience in law, says there is an end of that. Our consciences shall be applied to this thing. States will be picked out which have already shown that they can exercise a conscience in this matter, and under their tutelage the helpless peoples of the world will come into a new light and into a new hope.

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"So I think I can say of this document that it is at one and the same time a practical document and a humane document. There is a pulse of sympathy in it. There is a compulsion of conscience throughout it. It is practical, and yet it is intended to purify, to rectify, to elevate. And I want to say that, so far as my observation instructs me, this is in one sense a belated document. I believe that the conscience of the world has long been prepared to express itself in some such way. We are not just now discovering our sympathy for these people and our interest in them. We are simply expressing it, for it has long been felt, and in the administration of the affairs of more than one of the great states represented here—so far as I know, of all the great states that are represented here—that humane impulse has already expressed itself in their dealings with their colonies, whose peoples were yet at a low stage of civilization.

"We have had many instances of colonies lifted into the sphere of complete self-government. This is not the discovery of a principle. It is the universal application of

a principle. It is the agreement of the great nations which have tried to live by these standards in their separate administrations to unite in seeing that their common force and their common thought and intelligence are lent to this great and humane enterprise. I think it is an occasion therefore for the most profound satisfaction that this humane decision should have been reached in a matter for which the world has long been waiting and until a very recent period thought that it was still too early to hope.

"Many terrible things have come out of this war, gentlemen, but some very beautiful things have come out of it. Wrong has been defeated, but the rest of the world has been more conscious than it ever was before of the majesty of right. People that were suspicious of one another can now live as friends and comrades in a single family, and desire to do so. The miasma of distrust, of intrigue, is cleared away. Men are looking eye to eye and saying, We are brothers and have a common purpose. We did not realize it before, but now we do realize it, and this is our covenant of fraternity and of friendship."

The President asked for no vote. It was sufficient at this stage that his ideal, the Covenant, could be presented. And within three hours from this address of presentation, with the Covenant in his pocket, he was on his way to America.

CHAPTER XX

A MESSAGE FROM THE BRITISH CABINET—PEACE PLANS TAKE FORM

PRESIDENT WILSON had a parting experience, just before he got off for America, of which little or nothing was allowed to get beyond the closely-guarded doors of the Supreme Council, although it appears to be one of the decisive moves in the great diplomatic game which has been proceeding. While the President had a crowded day yesterday, with the Plenary session and his plea for the Covenant, and then the hurried departure for the boat-train, yet he found time to attend this meeting of the Supreme Council, as the British Minister for War, Mr. Winston Churchill, had arrived from London with a rather pressing message from the British Cabinet. This was in effect that as the President had realized his League Covenant and was now leaving for America, there was serious apprehension as to what was to become of other very practical and pressing questions, particularly Russia, and whether a pacific or a military policy was to prevail there.

While the cause for this apprehension was not stated, yet it seemed to be inferred that since the President had gained his chief end—the League Covenant—it was time for practical ends to be considered: that Mr. Churchill would now present the Russian question, and a little later Mr. Balfour would present the very practical question of pushing to an immediate conclusion the German Peace Treaty, par-

ticularly the territorial and frontier questions and the financial and economic arrangements. Mr. Lloyd George had gone to London some days previous and was at the Cabinet meeting when these apprehensions were expressed, so that Mr. Churchill was able to convey the views of the Prime Minister as well as the Cabinet. On the Russian inquiries, President Wilson answered very emphatically against a military policy, and declared that he thought the Allied and Associated forces—which at that time included the American troops at Archangel—were doing no good in Russia and ought to be withdrawn. Drawing aside the curtain of secrecy for a moment, discloses this exchange at the session of the Supreme Council:

Mr. Winston Churchill, Minister of War in the British Cabinet, was present, and was introduced by Mr. Balfour to explain the views of the British Cabinet relative to the Russian situation and the proposed meeting at Prinkipo.

Mr. Churchill said that on the previous day there had been a Cabinet meeting in London at which great anxiety had been manifested concerning the Russian situation, particularly in respect to the policy of the Prinkipo meeting. In view of the imminent departure of President Wilson, the Cabinet had asked him to go over and obtain some decision as to the policy on this matter. Mr. Lloyd George had expressed a wish to know whether the present Allied policy was to be continued, or, if not, what policy was to be substituted for it. Also the military aspect of the case must be considered. Great Britain had soldiers in Russia who were being killed in action. Their families wished to know what purpose these men were serving. Were they just marking time until the Allies had decided on a policy, or

were they fighting in a campaign representing some common aim?

PRESIDENT WILSON—Among the many uncertainties connected with Russia, I have a very clear opinion about two points. The first is that the troops of the Allied and associated Powers are doing no sort of good in Russia. They do not know for whom or for what they are fighting. They are not assisting in a common effort to establish order throughout Russia. They are assisting local movements like, for instance, that of the Cossacks, who could not be induced to move outside of their own sphere. My conclusion therefore is that the Allied and associated Powers ought to withdraw their troops from all parts of Russian territory.

The discussion proceeded at length, relative to the meeting at Prinkipo and the possible withdrawal of Allied troops.

MR. CHURCHILL said he would like to know whether the Council would approve of arming the anti-Bolshevik forces in Russia should the Prinkipo Conference prove a failure.

PRESIDENT WILSON said that he hesitated to express any definite opinion on this question. He had merely explained to the Council how he would act if alone. He would however cast in his lot with the rest.

The military situation was considered at length, General Alby presenting tables showing the exact forces, pro-Ally and pro-Bolshevist, on all fronts and all regions. The discussion was not concluded, however, and it was arranged Mr. Churchill should proceed the next day, after the formalities of the President's departure were concluded. At this second session Mr. Churchill was again heard:

MR. CHURCHILL said that it was felt to be essential either to carry the Prinkipo meeting through to a definite result, or to get it out of the way. With this object in view he had drafted a wireless message which he submitted for discussion. This telegram would, he thought, have the desired effect of settling affairs one way or the other. The telegram which he presented referred to the purpose of bringing the various Russian elements together for a discussion, and for a truce in the meantime. The telegram included the following clause:

"It is necessary to fix a precise time within which the Princes' Island proposal must be disposed of. Unless within ten days from the 15th inst. the Bolshevik forces on all fronts have ceased to attack and have withdrawn a distance of not less than five miles from the present position of their adversary's lines, the Princes' Island proposal will be deemed to have lapsed."

MR. CHURCHILL—I would propose, simultaneously with the sending of the above message, or something like it, the immediate setting up of an Allied Council for Russian Affairs. This Council should have political, economic and military sections, with executive powers within limits to be laid down by the present Conference. In that way continuity of policy, unity of purpose and control would be obtained.

MR. LANSING agreed that with a few changes in the text the wireless message should be sent, but as regards anything like the formation of a policy or the creation of a Council for Russian Affairs, he thought no action should be taken until an opportunity for consultation had been given.

M. CLEMENCEAU agreed that the Supreme War Council could call upon its military advisers to study this question.

COLONEL HOUSE proposed that a decision in regard to the creation of a Council on Russian Affairs should be postponed. He was willing to agree, however, to the immediate dispatch of the proposed wireless.

It was finally decided to postpone the sending of the wireless message and the creation of the Allied Council for Russian Affairs.

* * *

Feb. 15. President Wilson is gone and the Supreme Council is meeting for the first time without his directing influence. Colonel House has been designated to take his place, and will act with Mr. Lansing as a member of the Council, and in the consultations of the Premiers—the Big Four. The Colonel said after the session of the Council today that Mr. Churchill's Russian proposals had been further heard, but nothing had come of them and no solution was in sight.

"When a situation becomes hopeless, as this is, the best thing to do is to let it alone," said the Colonel. "Anything like a definite policy toward Russia is impossible, and it is better to have no policy and wait for the prospect of improvement later on."

He added that American and British troops would be withdrawn from northern Russia as soon as the Archangel port was free from ice. The troops went there to fight the Germans, not the Bolshevists, he said, and as there were no Germans there to fight, the mission of the troops is over. The Colonel thinks a comparatively small military force, well equipped, could exterminate the Bol-

shevists. "But," he added, "our people would not for a moment approve fighting against the only organized workingman's government in the world."

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Feb. 16. Several of the secret chapters of the recent negotiations are now coming to light. One of these deals with the question of religion and race. It seems that the League of Nations Covenant originally had 27 articles instead of 26, as finally recorded. This additional article —Article XXII—dealt with "freedom of religion," requiring all nations becoming members of the league to establish complete equality as to religious toleration, and to make no discriminatory laws based on religious opinion. This was chiefly intended for the Jews, to protect them from persecution in Eastern Europe.

But when this Article XXII came up, the Japanese delegates proposed an amendment reading "*racial* and religious equality." This threatened to precipitate a huge issue over the Oriental question. And in order to head off the Japanese and their racial equality, the entire article was withdrawn, including religious equality and the protection of the Jews. With Article XXII out, the articles of the Covenant were renumbered, and the document as it finally appeared has only 26 articles.

Another inside chapter now disclosed is that the issue over the "freedom of the seas" has been dropped, because the President feels that with all countries entering the League of Nations there will be no neutrals outside the League, and for that reason there will be no need of guaranteeing the freedom of the seas to neutrals during times of war, as the League itself would insure this freedom for

all the world. This explanation is not entirely clear, but it appears to satisfy the President, who now regards the freedom of the seas as an issue which has been definitely removed from the field of controversy.

This result will naturally be the source of great satisfaction to Lloyd George, for one of his most practical ends has been attained and the second of the Fourteen Points has quietly passed into innocuous desuetude.

* * *

Feb. 17. Marshal Foch appeared in person before the Council of the Great Powers today and told of the acceptance and signing by the Germans of the new terms of armistice. The signing was at Treves at 6 o'clock yesterday morning on the private car of Foch, after two days of futile protest from Erzberger and the other German delegates. The acceptance averts what might have been a grave crisis, for if the Germans had refused to sign, as was threatened, there would have been no alternative to a resumption of the war.

The Armistice is this time renewed for a short period, until the terms of peace can be concluded. This is the first definite step toward the peace terms, now that the League Covenant is temporarily out of the way. It is planned to first complete the military and naval terms of peace. The military terms, Colonel House says, will call for complete disarmament. The naval terms are being shaped by the British naval authorities, who say that besides the surrender of the entire German fleet, the fortifications of Heligoland and the Kiel Canal will be completely dismantled, and the Kiel Canal will be opened to commercial navigation the same as the Suez or Panama

canals. The blockade of German ports is to be continued until the peace terms are finally framed and accepted.

Feb. 18. The signing of the German peace treaty came measurably within sight today for the first time, as Clemenceau, Balfour, Baron Sonnino, and Colonel House began framing the essentials of the Peace Treaty so that it would be ready by the time the President returns on March 15th. They meet again at 10 tomorrow morning to make this plan definite. It contemplates calling in the German delegates by the end of March, so that the Peace Congress can be constituted with all parties represented, including the enemy powers. April and May are allowed for final discussion, with the prospect of concluding and signing the treaty by the early summer.

Meantime a preliminary to the general Peace Treaty is to be made in the permanent armistice terms, which will take the place of the short-term armistice announced by Marshal Foch yesterday. This permanent armistice arrangement will be a sort of preliminary peace in itself. The disarmament of Germany is its chief feature, her military force being reduced to 25 divisions of 10,000 men each, or a total of 250,000 men, taking the place of the German army of several million. The disarmament will also bring about the complete disappearance of her submarine equipment, and the dismantling of Heligoland, the Kiel canal, etc. Admiral Benson, in behalf of the United States, has interposed reservations to the British plan of the Kiel canal and Germany's coast fortifications, as he does not intend to have this serve as a precedent by which foreign powers can undertake supervision of the Panama

Canal, the Cape Cod Canal, and even the Hell Gate channel at New York.

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The President's designation of Colonel House as his personal representative during his absence in America has increased the growing sentiment that the President and Mr. Lansing are not in as close coöperation as in other days. The designation to this post places Colonel House among the Premiers of the Great Powers, and he becomes one of the Big Four at the supreme moment when these Premiers are turning to the very practical questions of shaping the new frontiers of Europe and framing the terms of peace. This selection is quite natural, however, as Colonel House was the President's representative in all the early negotiations when the German and Austrian armistice was concluded. Nevertheless there are some who feel that the President is rather overlooking the traditional rôle of a Secretary of State.

CHAPTER XXI

A WOUNDED TIGER—PEACE PLANS HALT

Feb. 19. Clemenceau was shot and dangerously wounded at nine o'clock this morning as he was on his way to the meeting at Colonel House's quarters to arrange a definite plan for completing and signing the Peace Treaty. He had just entered his closed limousine automobile which had swung into the Avenue Trocadero leading toward the Crillon. At that instant a man in the rough corduroy garb of a workman sprang from the shadow of a kiosk and sent a fusillade of shots at the speeding auto. Nine shots in all struck the back and side of the car, riddling it like a sieve, and several of the shots struck the premier as he crouched in a corner. One bullet lodged in the right shoulder and another in the breast dangerously near the lungs, if indeed it has not penetrated that organ.

Clemenceau is alive and conscious, and is reported to be doing well, although his age—78 years—and his chronic ailment of diabetes are a heavy handicap against recovery. The assassin, Emil Cottin, is an avowed anarchist, and although at first believed to be a Russian, he has since been identified as a French workingman, hitherto harmless. He was arrested after a struggle in which the crowd tried to lynch him.

The attempt on Clemenceau's life causes an immense commotion in the circles of the Peace Conference, of which

he is the president and the conspicuous and picturesque figure along with Wilson. The meeting at Colonel House's rooms was abandoned, and the plans for completing the Peace Treaty before the President returned are brought to a sudden halt. When Colonel House telephoned Balfour and Baron Sonnino of the shooting, they both started at once for Clemenceau's house to offer such sympathy and assistance as could be given. Crowds are massed in the Rue Franklin where the modest little home of the Premier is located, and there is a spontaneous outburst of grief at the tragedy and of dismay at its possible effect. If the venerable statesman recovers it is hoped his activities may be resumed by the time the President is back. Meantime it is pointed out that the work of the Conference is not entirely interrupted, for the President and Lloyd George were already gone, and those who remained can still carry on much of the work. But with Clemenceau removed, the three notable figures of the Conference, the "big three," who have controlled and directed, are off the stage.

The American delegates met during the day, and sent a letter of sympathetic condolence to Clemenceau. It was doubtless the time for expressing warm personal sympathy, yet the document had more the tone of an official communication. It said:

EXCELLENCY:

The Undersigned, the American Commissioners to Negotiate Peace, have been shocked beyond measure to learn of the abominable attempt made this day on your life by a dastardly assassin. While deeply deploring that your Excellency should have suffered any injury whatever, they

hereby rejoice at your providential escape, and congratulate the people of France that in the settlement of peace and in the rehabilitation of France, they are to continue to receive the benefit of that valued patriotism and seasoned statesmanship which your Excellency so strenuously and successfully exerted in their interest during the travail of war.

With their best wishes for your speedy recovery, the undersigned are pleased to subscribe themselves your sincere friends.

(Signed) Robert Lansing,
Henry White,
E. M. House,
Tasker H. Bliss.

* * *

Feb. 20. Clemenceau's wound, instead of being slight, is grave—a bullet in the lungs. He had a hemorrhage during the night and is spitting blood. This the doctors say is a very bad sign. But singularly the old tiger, with a bullet in his vitals, is "up and around." While the doctors prepared the apparatus for an X-ray examination today he promenaded in his garden which leads just off from the sick room. When the X-ray was taken he examined the plates, and being a doctor himself, he agreed with the others in their diagnosis of his condition. While they give encouraging bulletins, yet the fact remains that at the age of nearly eighty, with chronic diabetes, Clemenceau has a gangrened bullet in his lungs, which is causing enough inflammation to make him spit blood.

Clemenceau sent word by Dutasta that the Council of the Great Powers should not take up any of the main questions until he could return and have a part in the proceed-

ings. He said he hoped to be about by next Monday, which seems incredible, though the doctors are glad to have him take a hopeful view of his case. They agree that the crisis will not be passed for the next four days. The Council was therefore abandoned today, but at Balfour's request it will take up some secondary matters tomorrow.

* * *

One of the members of the reparation commission disclosed today that an Austrian delegation had quietly arrived in Paris direct from Vienna, and was now holding daily conferences at the British headquarters, with British, French, Italian, and American delegates. As the war is still on and the Peace Treaty still a good way ahead, it seems rather strange that this delegation has slipped into town and is carrying on official intercourse. I found them at the Hotel Montana, where they were very approachable and gave me their cards as follows:

Dr. Richard Schuler, of the Austrian foreign office, Vienna I, Ballplatz.

Dr. Victor Brauneis, of the Treasury, Vienna I, Himmelpfort, gasse 8.

Dr. Hans von Simon, of the Treasury, VIII Haffsstallste, 5 a, Tel. 34144.

Dr. Brauneis talked very frankly and freely of their mission. They want to arrange that the debt of the old Austrian monarchy shall be borne proportionately by all of the fragments of states into which the monarchy has been split—Bohemia, Jugo Slavia, Austrian Poland, Transylvania, as well as by the small remnant of old Austria. They are paying all the coupons on the old debt rather than

have it repudiated, but they cannot do this long, and they are asking the allies to send commissioners to Vienna and arrange for a division of the debt. Also, he says, they must have food and coal. The food situation he describes as desperate—65 grams of bread a day, no meat, fats or oils, no vegetables; people starving. The lack of coal has closed the factories and the work people are in the streets. The government, to prevent an uprising, is paying the wages of the idle workmen, but the depleted funds are running very low.

"It is better for the allies to help us at once," he said, "for if they don't there will be disorder and Bolshevism, and then a military occupation by the allies will cost them more than food and coal will cost them now."

The delegation makes an exceptionally good impression as men of ability and character.

Feb. 21. Clemenceau sent word to House and Lansing that he would be with them at the council next Tuesday. They accept this from the patient himself as more reassuring than the doctor's bulletins. When Colonel House called on Clemenceau today, the old man was sitting up and was planning to have a cabinet council in his bedroom with a number of the French ministers. Later Lord Derby found him dressed and walking about. Lord Derby brought word that Lloyd George would come over from London early next week to talk with Clemenceau on some of the large peace problems, and to settle the Russian question, which is to be held in abeyance meantime.

General Bliss said tonight that the war council was about through with the military terms of the German treaty. This will probably take the form of a permanent armistice

which will be in effect a military treaty terminating the war, disarming Germany down to five or ten divisions, and similarly stripping her naval and aerial forces. It will also permit the withdrawal of the American and other foreign troops from Germany, and in a military way will end the war.

* * *

Feb. 22. Results of a far-reaching character were obtained at the meeting of the Council of the Great Powers this afternoon, when it was definitely determined to draft the preliminary Peace Treaty before the return of the President, having it ready in complete form when he gets back the middle of March. To accomplish this an imperative order was sent to all the commissions which are working on various branches of the treaty, requiring them to submit their final reports within the next two weeks, with March 8th fixed as the outside limit. They are also directed to so shape their reports that they may be embodied as parts of the treaty itself, thus bringing together the military, naval, aerial, economic, financial, and all other terms, and the declarations which are to be made on the subject of responsibility for causing the war.

As Clemenceau was not present when this decision was reached, Colonel House and Mr. Balfour were designated to call on the premier in his sick room and learn if he approved the program. Balfour called at noon, and House at two this afternoon. Both found the wounded statesman sitting up and dressed, and very keenly alive to what the Conference was doing. He completely approves the speeding-up plan. This removed the last obstacle to its accomplishment, for Baron Sonnino had based his opposi-

tion on the hopes that Clemenceau also would join him. But with Clemenceau, Balfour and House standing together, Baron Sonnino was obliged to fall into line.

The objection of Baron Sonnino was that the preliminary treaty now to be drafted was to be limited to Germany, whereas Italy was not interested in Germany but in Austria. So that if any preliminary treaty was to be drawn, Sonnino wanted it to cover Austria as well as Germany, and to provide for Italian control of the Eastern Adriatic. But all this Italian contention disappeared when Clemenceau gave his full approval to the Balfour-House plan to complete the German treaty before the President gets back. As a concession to Sonnino, he was assured that the Austrian treaty would immediately follow the German, and with terms almost identical.

The agreement reached today for a preliminary Peace Treaty disposes of the previous plan for a permanent armistice which would end the war. The preliminary treaty will include the military terms as well as the whole range of peace conditions.

* * *

A glimpse behind the scenes as the Supreme Council was in secret session today discloses that Mr. Balfour was the master-mind in the project just launched of completing the Peace Treaty at once, before the President returns; this seems to be in line with the recent British Cabinet meeting at which apprehensions were expressed that the President's departure might slow up the practical ends of peace. At the meeting of the Council today there was the following:

Mr. Balfour presented a resolution reciting that "It is desirable to proceed without delay to the consideration of

preliminary peace terms with Germany and to press on the necessary investigations with all possible speed." It provided also that the terms, besides the naval, military and air conditions, shall cover the following points:

(a) The approximate future frontiers of Germany.

(b) The financial arrangements to be imposed on Germany.

(c) Our economic relations with Germany after the war.

(d) Responsibilities for breaches of the laws of war.

It also provided that all commissions complete their work and send in their reports not later than Saturday, March 8.

MR. BALFOUR—A general feeling of impatience is now becoming manifest in all countries on account of the apparent slow progress the Conference is making in the direction of final peace. It would be folly to ignore altogether the danger that feeling might produce. It will be realized that abstract questions (such as the financial arrangements and economic relations) do not touch the hearts and interests of families. But the question of demobilization does touch them very deeply. Now, the progress of demobilization is dependent very largely on the final military terms to be imposed on Germany. If the final military proposals are shortly to be ready for consideration by the Conference, should not advantage be taken to obtain an important instalment of the preliminary peace?

M. PICHON said that M. Clemenceau held that the whole of the preliminary terms should be pressed forward with as little delay as possible in order to take full advantage of the present situation in Germany.

COLONEL HOUSE said he was very glad to see that the Conference intended to bring about as soon as possible a

preliminary peace. In his opinion, the peace negotiations should have commenced on November 11 last, directly after the signing of the first armistice. He had always felt that delay could only be favorable to Germany, and the longer the signing of peace was postponed the more chance would there be of circumstances becoming less favorable to the Allies. In regard to the proposals now before the Conference, very severe military terms would have to be imposed on the Germans. And, he thought, the Germans would be more inclined to accept these conditions if, at the same time, the whole peace terms were made known to them. The Germans would then be made cognizant of their position.

MR. LANSING expressed the view that it would be a mistake to treat the military terms of peace as distinct from the other terms of peace. He would prefer to embody all the terms of a preliminary peace in one document; a separate treaty being made with each of the enemy countries on identic lines. As soon as the future frontiers of Germany, Austria, Bulgaria and Turkey had been fixed, the state of war with the Czecho-Slovaks and Jugo-Slavs would *ipso facto* also cease, and at the same time peace would have been made with the principal enemies. He was strongly of the opinion, he said, that when peace terms came to be discussed with Germany, a complete document should be presented, including everything, and not merely a few naval, military and other conditions.

M. TARDIEU urged that the conclusion of the preliminary peace with Germany would make easier of solution the peace problems with other countries, including that of German Austria.

M. PICHON thought the Conference should consider first of all the German question, because it was the principal and the essential question——

BARON SONNINO—Yes, the principal question, for you.

M. PICHON—I think it is the principal and essential question for the Italians also, because Germany was the principal enemy.

It was finally agreed to press with all possible speed the peace terms relating respectively to Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey and Bulgaria.

* * *

Feb. 23. The crisis over Clemenceau is about over, and the remarkable octogenarian is actually recovering with a bullet in his lungs. This is the view of the doctors tonight although the public and the Peace Conference is still very skeptical.

Colonel House says that the reparation commission, which is trying to assess the amount of Germany's indemnity, is practically at a deadlock, which will be broken by having the French make a report on what they think the amount of indemnity should be, the British, Italians, and Americans to make similar reports. Then with all shades of opinion represented, the Supreme Council will make the final decision. This is rather an ingenious plan for getting rid of the deadlock.

Feb. 24. The Council today further considered the plan for a preliminary Peace Treaty to be ready for presentation to the President when he returns. Lord Milner was disposed to join hands with Baron Sonnino, so as to group the Austrian and German treaties. But he was

finally reconciled, and the plan stands for the preliminary treaty with Germany to be ready by March 15th, covering military, naval, territorial, and all other terms.

With the Peace Treaty ready on the 15th, it will be for the President to choose between going ahead with it and concluding peace at once, or going ahead with the League of Nations. One or the other must take first place. The opposition to the League has been quite active of late, and, headed by Hughes of Australia, is trying to call a plenary session of the Peace Conference to criticize the measure. But Colonel House has suceeded in heading off the movement, on the ground that it would be ungracious to act in the President's absence.

* * *

Feb. 25. One of the members of the reparation commission says the German delegates at Treves furnished a list of articles Germany could give in repayment for allied food relief. He says the list discloses in a pathetic way the misery to which German is reduced, as this list literally includes everything they possess from "pins to automobiles.' It appears that Germany was to send 25 million dollars in gold to Rotterdam, there to be exchanged for French francs in repayment of food to be sent in from France—France thus getting the gold on the sale of the food, and also getting the exchange on the sale of the French francs.

Observing this profitable transaction in relieving the famished, one of the powers came forward with a counter proposal. It appears that a large quantity of pork has been in the warehouses of this power for the past six months, until it has become rancid. It is proposed now

to forward this supply of pork to the Germans clamoring for food, replacing it with fresh purchases of pork from America. This is related by the delegates taking part in the negotiations for furnishing food to those localities which most need it.

CHAPTER XXII

EUROPEAN DIPLOMACY ALERT—PEACE TREATY TAKES FORM WITH PRESIDENT ABSENT

Feb. 28. Forty billion dollars! That is the gigantic sum now figured as the war damages against Germany—forty times more than the greatest indemnity ever assessed. It became known to a few members of the Peace Conference today that this was the result of the weeks of work by the reparation commission. The French damages as first presented reached the unheard-of total of 200 billion dollars. The British total was a little more modest—120 billion dollars. The American contention was that it was idle to assess such vast sums until it could be determined how much Germany could pay without being annihilated. For weeks there has been a gradual scaling down of the first totals, and now it is down to 40 billions. But this is not final, as each of the contending elements is to present a report, and the council is to have the final say. But it is at least settled that the total will not go above 40 billions.

Another of the big questions, the western German frontier, is also nearing settlement. The French have given up their first claim of annexing the west bank of the Rhine. All they ask now is the "sterilization" of the territory on the west bank until all war damages are paid. "Sterilization" of German territory means the complete removal of its political characteristics, so there would be no conscrip-

tion, no delegates sent to the German Reichstag, no participation in government affairs: it will be a district much like the District of Columbia. Alsace-Lorraine is definitely to go to France without any plebiscite, and the rich Saar coal region is similarly to go to France, economically, and to be "sterilized" politically.

The order from the Council that all committees must report by March 8 promises early results on all of the larger branches of the peace treaty. Already the question of indemnity and the German frontiers have taken form, while the economic terms, responsibilities, and other branches, are also being hurried to completion.

* * *

Now that the President is gone, European diplomacy has suddenly come out of hiding and has become very active again. It counts on accomplishing a great deal during the President's absence. While he was here holding the League of Nations at the front, all the other plans of territorial extension and individual interests were held in the background. But with the President away European diplomacy is again alert with its aims and aspirations: France aims to get the Saar Valley coal fields and a slice of the Rhine front; the new Polish state aims to get Dantzig and a slice of East Prussia; Italy aims to get Dalmatia and the east coast of the Adriatic; Japan aims to get Shantung; England aims to get her sea power fortified by the destruction of the German fleet; all of the allies aim to get their war indebtedness paid by colossal indemnities.

These are some of the very practical aims and aspirations which interest European diplomacy more than the League of Nations interests them. And now that they

have bid adieu to the President and he has been good enough to remove his treasured covenant with him, the European diplomatic machine is running at full headway with a view to having its aims and aspirations drafted into a complete peace treaty before the President returns.

* * *

A most ingenious plan has been hit upon by the President's advisers whereby the terms of the Peace Treaty about to be framed will refer a large number of important questions to the League of Nations, so that the treaty will thus require and compel the adoption of the League in order to carry out the terms of the treaty. There will be a reference to the League in almost every section of the treaty —military, naval, territorial, economic—and altogether there will be some twenty-five duties and responsibilities which the treaty will confide to the League. So that, even if the two instruments, the Covenant and the Treaty, are not combined into a single document, yet the repeated references of the Treaty to the League will in effect bind them inextricably together.

* * *

Feb. 28. The naval terms of the Peace Treaty were presented to the Council today by the joint naval commanders. The terms bear out all that was predicted: sinking of the large German ships now held by the English at Scapa Flow; destruction of all German submarines, and a sweeping prohibition of the use of submarines as an arm of naval warfare; also the dismantling of Heligoland and the Kiel Canal fortifications.

The British and American admirals are agreed on sinking the German ships, as an impressive lesson. The

French are opposed and want to get some of the ships, which they say are larger and better-armed than their own. The American admiral, Benson, also makes a reservation on Heligoland and the Kiel Canal, so that a precedent will not be created for foreign intrusion in American canals. He also makes a reservation on the English and French dividing up the German cables as prizes of war.

The Council will consider the naval terms next Monday, along with the military terms which Foch will present tomorrow, and both the military and naval branches will then be ready for drafting into the Peace Treaty.

As the Council was in session today, the door unexpectedly opened and Clemenceau walked into the midst of the assembled delegates. He looked hearty and vigorous despite the ordeal he has just passed through. He remained half an hour, discussing some of the naval terms, and taking special interest in the territorial and indemnity questions which are rapidly taking form. As he left he announced that he would be back next week to resume his place as presiding officer of the Conference. His recovery is little short of miraculous, but he still carries the bullet in the lining of his lungs.

* * *

March 1. Marshal Foch presented the military terms to the Council, as they are to go into the Peace Treaty. They proved to be very drastic: disarmament of Germany down to 20 divisions, including ten of infantry and five of cavalry, of 10,000 men each; complete prohibition of the manufacture of war material; the dismantling of Essen; with allied supervision of commercial manufacture capable of being turned to warlike uses; aeroplane restric-

tion to a minimum. It leaves Germany absolutely stripped of force.

Colonel House received a private cable from the President today saying that if Lloyd George could meet him in Paris on March 22 he would return on the *George Washington* to Antwerp, then visit Brussels and the devastated regions of the north, and arrive here in time to join Lloyd George on the 22nd. The Colonel got Lloyd George on the telephone in his Downing Street home in London, and learned that the prime minister could not be here on the 22nd. So that the President's return via Antwerp, Brussels, and the battlefields is given up, and he will arrive as first planned, at Brest, on March 13, and at Paris on March 14.

March 3. Plans for calling in the German plenipotentiaries are now being worked out, the expectations being that they will arrive about a week after the President's return, or around March 25. It is not proposed, however, that the plenipotentiaries will take part in a Congress, on equal terms with allied delegates, and with the opportunity of carrying on a debate which would go to the outside world. Colonel House says a small committee from the Council will probably hand the peace terms to the Germans, and without discussion let them carry the terms back to Germany and there reach a decision on accepting or rejecting them. The only formal meeting at Versailles, he says, will be for the actual signing of the Treaty. So there will be no Peace Congress in the usual sense, and only the delivery of the terms, with no oral debate, to be accepted or rejected.

* * *

March 4. The question of responsibility for the war is causing a serious issue, in which the American attitude is sharply opposed to that of the British and French. The two latter are for the trial of the Kaiser, Crown Prince, and all the others before an international tribunal, and as there is no international law in existence since the world conflagration, they propose to frame an international code and then try the accused under it.

The United States, represented by Secretary Lansing as chairman of the commission on responsibility, has flatly refused to approve this course, but is alone in its refusal, with one exception, which is, singularly, Belgium. The rest of the Conference is solidly arrayed against the American attitude. This has led Secretary Lansing to bring forward a novel proposal. Instead of a legal trial, he proposes a moral indictment of the Kaiser by the united nations of the world. This he maintains would be more formidable as expressing the condemnation of the civilized world than any court prosecution under new-made and doubtful laws. He has even framed the terms of this world indictment.

"It is a terrible document," said one of the secretary's intimate friends, to whom he had read it. "And I believe the Kaiser would rather be dead than have such a condemnation of civilization placed on record against him."

Secretary Lansing's idea of a moral indictment is not acceptable, however, to the majority of the commission, who want the Kaiser and Crown Prince extradited, tried, and punished. Lloyd George has promised as much during his election speeches in England. The prevailing view in the commission is that a moral rebuke will not suffice;

that there must be real retribution, a trial, and the extreme penalty.

* * *

March 5. Lloyd George arrived tonight for the sessions of the Council which will finally determine a number of the main provisions of the German Peace Treaty. The first will be the military and naval disarmament, to be passed on finally tomorrow. The British and American view is understood to be in accord, and Lloyd George and Colonel House will lunch before the opening of the session in order to compare notes on the terms as they will be decided. With this settled, the war damages will be fixed. Forty billion dollars will probably be the final figure, although the amount keeps fluctuating up and down from day to day.

"The French dropped their claim by sixty billion dollars at a single stroke," said Colonel House. "They play with billions as children play with wooden blocks. But whatever we agree to will be largely a figure of speech, for the Germans will never be able to pay such a vast sum."

The military and naval peace terms were lengthily considered by the council today with Lloyd George again in his seat and Foch present with the other military and naval commanders. When the naval terms were taken up France interposed a spirited protest to the British-American plan of sinking the large German ships. Lloyd George was at first won over to the protest and said that in a division of the ships England would expect a large share. He was told by Colonel House that this would inevitably lead to a huge naval building program in the United States, as a means of keeping pace with British naval expansion. He yielded the point, and England is out of the division, but

France and Italy are insisting on their shares and will probably get some of the lesser ships.

The military terms are still kept secret but I had an opportunity today of glancing through them. The disarmament of Germany, as was expected, reduces the total force to 200,000 men, consisting of 15 divisions of infantry and five of cavalry. These are divided into five army corps, with one army headquarters. The men are to be chosen by lot for one year's service and no class is to exceed 100,000 men. The officers are to serve 25 years, so as to prevent the recruitment of new and fresh material. Arms and ammunition are cut to a bare minimum for this reduced force, and the balance of the material is to be delivered to the allies or destroyed. The allies are given supervision over the reduced German military establishment for an indefinite period. This is quite an issue in the Council, as the American view is that the indefinite control amounts to an invasion of Germany's sovereignty over her own internal affairs.

* * *

March 9. The discussions at the last session of the Council disclose some rather heated controversy. At one point Mr. Balfour said in substance:

"Marshal Foch tells us these military terms must be completed by March 20 at the latest, and delivered to the Germans by April 1, as the Marshal says we have demobilized so rapidly that we will no longer be able to enforce our terms after April 1. This is a most extraordinary condition of affairs, and the Marshal's demand for immediate action amounts to putting a pistol to our head and saying we must complete this treaty by April 1, with all the haste

that entails. With President Wilson returning on the 15th, he will have only a few days to go through the Treaty if it is rushed through in this way."

The serious aspect disclosed by Balfour is that, in the opinion of Marshal Foch, the allies will no longer have the military strength to enforce their terms on Germany after April 1, should Germany refuse to accept them.

To meet the objection that the President will not have time to consider the Treaty after his arrival, he has been kept fully advised by cable and wireless on the day-to-day developments. The complete military and naval terms, with notations by General Bliss and Admiral Benson, were cabled to him, so that he follows the proceedings daily. He is now en route, and his arrival is expected within the next week.

* * *

March 10. The supreme council tonight revised the military terms and then finally adopted them. Lloyd George took the lead in the revision, maintaining that Foch's allowance of 200,000 men was too generous for the Germans. The limit was therefore fixed at 100,000 men, made up of men enlisted voluntarily for 12 years' continuous service. Lloyd George carried the voluntary issue as against conscription, in the hope that it would end conscription in England and throughout Europe. The 12 years' continuous service is an ingenious means of holding the limit rigidly to 100,000 men for the next 12 years. The great imperial general staff is swept away.

The expectation in the Council was that the Treaty could be delivered to the Germans by the 25th. Intimations had been received that Count Bernstorff would be one of the

German plenipotentiaries, but discreet word has been conveyed to the Germans that the selection of Count Bernstorff would seriously prejudice their case, so that it is now expected that he will not be among the delegates.

March 11. The first rough outline of the Peace Treaty is beginning to take form, and there is little further doubt that it will be ready within the next ten days. It will be a very long document, probably the longest treaty of its kind on record. The first draft divides the subjects under five or six main heads: first, military, naval, and aerial terms; second, reparation for war damages, totalling 40 billion dollars, payable over a period of 30 years; third, Germany's western, eastern, and southern frontiers; fourth, economic and financial provisions, and, probably, fifth, a declaration on the responsibility of the Kaiser and others for the war. This last provision the French insist shall be written into the Treaty. The League of Nations also forms a notable part, being now relied on by the conferees to assist in the execution of the Treaty.

When the military disarmament of Germany down to 100,000 men finally went through, Balfour remarked:

"Why, what will Germany do if she is attacked by Switzerland, Belgium, or some other small power?"

To which General Bliss volunteered the reply: "We will have to protect Germany by guaranteeing her neutrality as against Belgium and the rest."

* * *

The almost complete naval and military disarmament of Germany, with no reference to the limitation of the colossal navies or armies of the other European powers, probably marks the last stage of the fourth of the Fourteen Points:

"Adequate guarantees given and taken that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety." The guarantees "given and taken" apparently mean that all are to share in this limitation. But the sentiment that Germany must be treated as vanquished has proved too strong for any "giving and taking" of disarmament outside of Germany, and so the fourth of the Fourteen Points disappears, except as the League of Nations may ultimately resuscitate it.

* * *

March 12. Acting on cabled suggestions from the President, an invitation has been sent to neutral nations, inviting them to send representatives on the 20th for a "private and unofficial conference," on the League of Nations. Colonel House has issued the invitation, acting for the President as chairman of the League of Nations commission. It has gone to all the European, Asiatic, and South American neutrals, the only exceptions being Mexico and Costa Rica, which for some reason have been ignored.

A wireless from the President says he will reach Brest at 8 o'clock tomorrow night. In expectation of the early arrival, Clemenceau spent an hour with Colonel House this evening, just before the Colonel started for Brest to join the President. On the way up from Brest the Colonel will fully explain to the President the status of the Treaty, which is now in an advanced state.

* * *

The abdication and banishment of the Emperor Charles from Austria came up during the session of the Supreme Council today, and another glimpse behind the scenes shows there was this exchange:

MR. LLOYD GEORGE said that a telegram had been received from the British military representative at Vienna to the effect that a bill would be introduced by the Austrian Government providing for the abdication and banishment of the Emperor Charles. The Austrian and Swiss Governments were seeking to facilitate the removal, and Switzerland asked a guarantee by the Allies that no difficulties would hereafter be raised in regard to the extradition of the Emperor. Mr. Lloyd George said that in his opinion the Emperor was not to be held responsible for the war. The whole responsibility rested with his uncle, Francis Joseph. Furthermore, when the Emperor Charles had ascended the throne he had done his best, though rather clumsily, to bring about peace. He suggested that the Swiss Government be given the desired guarantee so as to avoid the occurrence of an official tragedy.

M. CLEMENCEAU suggested that the question be referred to the committee dealing with responsibilities for the war, of which Mr. Lansing was Chairman.

MR. LANSING explained that the committee on breaches of the laws of war, of which he was President, had not attempted to draw up a list of criminals, because the sub-committee dealing with the responsibility for the war, had decided that no one could be tried under that particular head. That is to say, the sub-committee had come to the conclusion that the accused could not be brought before any local tribunal since they were only guilty of a moral responsibility.

It was finally agreed to authorize Mr. Balfour on behalf of the five Great Powers to send the telegrams facilitating the transfer of the Austrian Imperial family from Austria

into Switzerland, and to give Switzerland the required guarantees.

* * *

March 13. General Harries, in command of the American military force at Berlin, was heard by the Supreme War Council today on the military and economic situation at the German capital and throughout Germany. The General gave a dramatic recital of the street fighting he has witnessed during the past three months. The American command consists of 80 officers and 600 men, with headquarters at the Adlon hotel in the center of the city, where the fighting has been heaviest. As General Harries viewed the struggle from a window a bullet grazed his breast and was buried in the window casing. The rattle of rifles and machine-gun fire was continuous night and day. During the last week the electric light wires were cut, street cars stopped, telephone and telegraph service came to a halt, stores closed and newspapers stopped appearing. And yet there was little or no panic. The streets were crowded, with many women and children among the throngs, which are kept constantly moving by the military. The government has the upper hand and is gradually driving the Spartacists back and occupying the strategic centers of the city. Noske has proven a strong man, and General Harries believes the present régime can control the situation.

The President arrived at Brest at 8 o'clock tonight on the *George Washington,* and took the night train due here early tomorrow morning. There was little or no ceremony connected with his return.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE PRESIDENT RETURNS—AN ULTIMATUM: TREATY MUST INCLUDE COVENANT

March 14. President Wilson returned to Paris today from America. It was not a triumphal entry as it was three months ago, but there was a group of French officials and of friends at the railway station to welcome him back again. He plainly showed the strain he has been under, with the Senate in revolt against the League of Nations, and three of the great appropriation bills defeated as a means of compelling him to call an extra session of the new Congress with its majority opposed to his policies. He still wore his smile, but it was rather forced and his face looked pale and drawn.

President Poincaré again welcomed the President as the guest of the French nation, and placed at his disposal the sumptuous Bischofson mansion on the Place des États Unis, just across from the residence of Lloyd George. It had been the President's wish to return as a private citizen, choosing his own abode and paying his own bills, but the French sense of courtesy to a ruler would not permit of this, and, rather reluctantly, he again surrendered his privacy and became a guest of the French nation.

As the President entered his new quarters, he found that Lloyd George was already there awaiting him. This was rather remarkable—a British Prime Minister seeking an

American President as he came from the train. It indicated a certain degree of anxiety as to the course of affairs connected with the Peace Treaty, in line with the long and earnest talk of Clemenceau with Colonel House as he was starting to meet the President at Brest. Lloyd George remained with the President for an hour.

At 3 P. M. the President came to American headquarters where he was soon joined by Clemenceau and Lloyd George. The three were together uninterruptedly for three hours, until shortly after six, when the President came away smiling, and it was explained that the conference had been satisfactory. There was no announcement on the result. But it was evident the President had matched his wit against the united forces of the Premiers, and all the indications were that the President had won. The severe aspect of the Premiers as they withdrew was as marked as the President's smile.

Two versions of the meeting soon became current in the delegation. One was that the President had been amazed on his arrival to find that European diplomacy had deftly crowded the Treaty to the front and the Covenant to the rear, and had in effect detached the Covenant from the Treaty. His meeting with the Premiers was for the purpose of expressing his very emphatic dissent from this course. While this version was quite generally credited in American circles, yet I was told later in authoritative quarters that it was pure fable. What really happened, it was explained, was this:

When the President went to America he took the League Covenant with him, so that attention during his absence naturally turned to the Treaty, which had been in abey-

ance during the first two months devoted entirely to the Covenant. But now that attention was riveted on the Treaty, European diplomacy gradually seemed to assume that the Treaty was the only question at issue, apparently overlooking the resolution adopted at the first plenary session of the Conference, declaring that the Covenant was to be an integral part of the Peace Treaty. This tendency to forget the Covenant did not escape the attention of Colonel House, who took the first occasion when he met the President at Brest to bring it to his attention. Out of this grew the conference of the President and Premiers, to remind them that the Peace Conference had already definitely decided that the Covenant was to be an integral part of the Treaty. It was on this that the President carried his point with the Premiers, and he will at once follow up their committment by a public statement declaring there has been no change in the plan of linking the Covenant and the Treaty.

March 15. The President issued a formal statement bearing his signature, announcing there had been no change in the original plan of linking together the Covenant and the Treaty. The decision to keep them together was "final," the President says. The President's announcement, issued from the White House and made known to all the delegations, caused a sensation. It was the sequel to the matching of wits with the Premiers yesterday, and it definitely and publicly commits them to unwavering adherence to the plan of making the Covenant a part of the Treaty.

The President's statement as posted at American headquarters and thence circulated to all other delegations, said:

"President Wilson authorizes the statement that there has been no change in the original plan for linking together the League of Nations and the Peace Treaty. The plan was enunciated by the Peace Conference itself at its first plenary session, and there has been no departure thus far from the order then laid down.

"President Wilson said that the decision made by the Peace Conference at its plenary session of January 25, 1919, to the effect that the League of Nations should be made an integral part of the Peace Treaty was of final force, and that there was no basis for the reports that a change was contemplated.

"The resolution as to the League of Nations, adopted at that time by the Peace Conference, was as follows:

> "First—It is essential to the maintenance of the world settlement which the associated nations are now met to establish, that a League of Nations be created to promote international coöperation, to insure the carrying out of international obligations, and to provide safeguards against war.
>
> "Second—This League should be treated as an integral part of the general Treaty of Peace and should be open to every civilized nation which can be relied upon to promote its objects.
>
> "A third clause provides for the meetings and organization of the League."

Besides issuing the foregoing, the President sent a cablegram to Mr. Tumulty at Washington, stating that "the Plenary Council has positively decided that the League of Nations is to be part of the Peace Treaty; there is absolutely no truth in any reports to the contrary."

* * *

March 16. The President's challenge has been immediately answered. M. Pichon, the French minister of foreign affairs, today called in the representatives of the foreign press, and in the course of a very frank talk declared that the League of Nations Covenant could not under any circumstances be made a part of the Peace Treaty. Possibly, he said, the principle of the League might be stated in some general way in the Peace Treaty, but certainly not the League as a whole.

This was in flat contradiction of the President's declaration that the Covenant must go in the Treaty, and that nothing else had ever been thought of. When M. Pichon was asked as to the President's statement, he said he "had not seen it." Which was regarded as a diplomatic means of avoiding a direct clash with the President, while at the same time joining issue on his statement.

Learning of the Pichon statement, the President's associates were very busy in counteracting it. They telephoned for André Tardieu, who is personally close to Clemenceau. When Tardieu reached American headquarters and found them in commotion over the Pichon statement, he explained that Pichon must have been misunderstood. It was suggested to him that it might be well for the French newspapers not to make use of the Pichon statement in view of the fact that it was such a direct contradiction of the President.

For the purposes of diplomacy the Pichon utterance may be explained away, but it doubtless expresses his personal views and it opens a rather wide breach, and a personal one, over this most cherished hope of the President to have the Covenant joined with the Treaty.

* * *

March 17. The strained situation caused by the Wilson-Pichon clash is beginning to be relieved. Pichon sent word today he had been misunderstood. Clemenceau also sent a soothing message. Tardieu, after a talk with Colonel House, made a round of the French press and kept the Pichon statement from being printed. Thus Pichon seems to be discredited in his own house, and all tends toward carrying out the Wilson programme. Colonel House says there is no doubt the Covenant will be included in the treaty as an integral part, or perhaps as an appendix. Lord Robert Cecil and Leon Bourgeois were with him for some time last night, and came away converts to the idea that the Covenant must be joined to the Treaty.

When the delegates heard that the Covenant was certainly to be added to the Treaty, perhaps as an appendix, M. Venizelos, the Greek premier, is credited with a *bon mot.*

"Don't make it an appendix," he said, "for you know Clemenceau is a doctor, and there will certainly be another operation."

The discussion has brought out, also, that the League Covenant, besides going into the Treaty, is going to undergo a pretty thorough overhauling with a view to meeting proposed suggestions, criticisms, and amendments. But the view prevails that it will not be amended materially, as it is considered all right in essentials. The amendments proposed by American senators will be looked into, but are not very favorably considered by the President and his advisers.

The President had his first experience today with the new-made Treaty of Peace as drafted in his absence. He

attended the meeting of the Supreme Council, which partly approved the military, naval, and aerial terms, except on a few reserved points including the destruction of the German ships, the division of the German cables between French and British claimants, and the dismantling of the Kiel fortifications. As the President did not contest the terms, they seemed to be meeting his approval as far as they have gone.

* * *

March 18. The President, Clemenceau and Lloyd George came to the Hotel Crillon at 3 o'clock this afternoon and were closeted together for three hours. Colonel House and Tardieu were called in for a time, also the financial experts, Norman Davis for the United States, and Lord Sumner for Great Britain. But most of the time the three big men were alone together. Colonel House says it is the turning-point of a somewhat critical situation, not only as to the Covenant but several other features of the Treaty, notably the huge indemnity urged by the French and English, and the far-reaching territorial claims.

The Japanese delegates, Baron Makino and Viscount Chinda, arrived at the hotel just as the President's conference with Clemenceau and Lloyd George was concluded. They did not join the conference, but made known to Colonel House that they would formally offer the Japanese amendment to the Covenant, providing for racial equality. They did not say, however, that Japan would refuse to sign the Treaty if the Japanese amendment was rejected, although the Chinese have reported that this was the Japanese program.

Lord Robert Cecil made the definite announcement to-

night that the British delegation approved the inclusion of the League Covenant as a part of the Peace Treaty. This cleared the air for the first time, so far as the British are concerned, as the attitude of the delegation had been at least obscure and Lloyd George had avoided any definite commitment.

Lord Robert, in making his statement, emphasized the fact that he did not speak for himself alone, but for the British delegation as a whole. This was about 7 o'clock. And at 8 o'clock Lord Robert was the President's guest for dinner at the Paris White House.

* * *

March 19. The President will preside at a meeting called for Saturday of the League of Nations commission, when all proposed amendments will be examined, and the revision of the Covenant concluded. This is the first meeting of the commission since the eventful day when the Covenant was adopted only a few hours before the President left for America. Its main end will be to decide definitely on ways of reconciling the demands put forward by American senators, or of rejecting them. Meantime the neutral nations are to be heard tomorrow as to any amendments they wish to propose.

The Supreme Council examined the warlike situation in Galicia, where, in spite of the presence of a supposed condition of peace, the Ukrainian army is besieging the Polish city of Lemberg on three sides. It was decided to send an "injunction" to the commanders of the two armies facing each other, warning them to cease hostilities immediately.

* * *

President Wilson joined issue with Lloyd George in the Supreme Council today over the question of giving Poland an out-let to the sea at Dantzig. M. Cambon, chairman of the Polish committee of the Conference, presented the report of the committee which gave Poland a strip of territory extending northward to the Baltic and including Dantzig, the great Baltic port of East Prussia. Mr. Lloyd George questioned the wisdom of this action, urging that it violated the principle of self-determination, as over two million Germans, living in this strip, would be brought under Polish rule.

President Wilson said he acknowledged this was a violation of the principle of self-determination, but he pointed out that Germany and all concerned had agreed that Poland was to have an outlet to the sea, so that this was an issue between two conflicting principles. He said also that this region was one which Germany had specially sought to colonize and Germanize. As to the principle of self-determination, the President intimated it was likely to arise in many cases, as there were "blocks of foreign people" throughout Europe circumstanced much like those in the Polish corridor to Dantzig. A glimpse at the proceedings shows this discussion in progress:

M. Jules Cambon stated that in order to give Poland access to the sea, the committee had attributed to Poland a strip of territory enclosing Dantzig.

Mr. Lloyd George said that the bulk of the recommendations of the committee had secured general agreement. He noted, however, that the number of Germans to be included in the future Polish state, was not less than 2,132,000. This was a considerable figure, and might

spell serious trouble for Poland in the future. The Germans moreover might hesitate to sign any treaty containing such a provision, and any terms that no delegate and no government were likely to sign should make the Council hesitate.

President Wilson drew attention to the very special effort made in late years by the German Government to colonize the very region to which Mr. Lloyd George had drawn attention. The Germans had sought to make a German cordon from Schneidemuhl to Marienverder in order to isolate Dantzig from Poland, hence this was actually a region of political colonization.

Mr. Lloyd George said he raised no objection in respect to the regions lately colonized by Germany, but he did not feel that he could assent to the delivery of areas whose whole history was German.

President Wilson said that this would only be justified by reciprocity. Many Poles in areas historically Polish were to be left within Germany. He said the discussion brought out the difficulty which would be met in many cases but on which he had not reached a definite conclusion in his own mind. Everywhere in Europe blocks of foreign people would be found whose position could be justified by historic, commercial and similar arguments. He acknowledged that the inclusion of two million Germans in Poland was a violation of one principle; but Germany had been notified that free and safe access to the sea for Poland would be insisted upon. The Allied and Associated Powers were therefore not open to the reproach that they were doing this merely because they had the power to do it. This was one of the things they had fought for. The dif-

ficulty was to arrive at a balance between conflicting considerations.

It was finally determined to refer the question back to the committee for further consideration.

* * *

March 20. Lloyd George's residence was the scene of an interesting gathering this afternoon, when all the leaders got together, including the President, Clemenceau, Balfour, Pichon, Orlando, Marshal Foch, General Diaz, and General Allenby, the latter just arrived from Mesopotamia, where he was the hero of the Bagdad entry. The discussion was on mandatories for Asiatic Turkey—Mesopotamia, Syria, Armenia—and for the first time a strong pressure was exerted to have the United States assume the mandate for Armenia. As England, France and Italy have large armies in these sections, they want the question of mandatories settled one way or the other without delay, so that the armies may remain there or be withdrawn. The inclination is to have the British remain in Mesopotamia, the French in Syria, and have the United States "take up the white man's burden" in Armenia. There was no decision but a strong current has been set in motion for American entry in the Near East.

* * *

The gathering of the neutral nations this afternoon, to consider the League Covenant, was an impressive event. The meeting was at American headquarters with all the formality of a meeting of the Peace Conference. In Colonel House's large reception room a long green table had been spread with all the paraphernalia of a conference. Lord Robert Cecil presided and around the table

gathered delegates from 13 neutral nations—again the everlasting Wilson 13—namely:

Norway, Persia, Salvador, Switzerland, Argentine, Spain, Holland, Denmark, Colombia, Venezuela, Paraguay, Chile, and Sweden.

Of these Sweden and Denmark sent a delegation of four members each, including some rather important judges and publicists; Norway and Holland of three each. Persia was represented by the minister of foreign affairs, here from Teheran; Spain by the under-minister of foreign affairs, who is an intimate of King Alfonso. The South American countries were represented by their resident ministers as there was not time for them to send delegates from home. The Argentine minister made a reservation that he had not received instructions from his government, and could not be committed by his attendance.

Glancing through the open doorway as the conference of neutrals was in session, it gave the appearance of a very animated and important body, with military and civilian attachés as well as the large body of delegates, a personnel of some fifty in all.

The Covenant was examined article by article, and up to the adjournment, fourteen articles had been completed, agreement being general on the part of the neutrals. Switzerland offered the greatest number of amendments, including one relating to the Monroe Doctrine, and another safeguarding national sovereignty. Another amendment proposes to give the neutrals several representatives on the Council of the League. All these amendments go over until tomorrow, when the neutrals expect to conclude their work. It is expected that the 13 neutral nations will be

added to the 27 belligerents supporting the League Covenant, or 40 nations in all, embracing practically the entire civilized world—a most impressive showing for the President's treasured plan, if he can carry it through.

* * *

It became doubtful again tonight whether the presidential plan could really be carried through. Lord Robert Cecil had announced with much emphasis last night that "the British delegation favored including the League of Nations in the Peace Treaty," and yet when Lloyd George received the British journalists at his residence tonight, he said:

"The question of including the League of Nations in the Peace Treaty has never been brought to my attention in any way whatever."

This from the Prime Minister caused a stir, just after Lord Robert Cecil had spoken for the entire delegation, so the query was put:

"But Lord Robert Cecil announced that the British delegation favored the inclusion of the League in the Treaty."

"Indeed; did he?" replied the Prime Minister. And this was all they could get out of him.

So that it looks tonight as if the presidential policy was again in doubt, as the Prime Minister has not been "consulted" about including the Covenant in the Treaty, and he has apparently thrown Lord Robert Cecil overboard.

The British journalists had previously called on Colonel House, who told them that the Peace Treaty would be completed by the end of next week and the German delegates would be at Versailles three weeks from today. When they repeated this to Lloyd George, he said:

"Add another week and it will be about right."

So that much seems sure—the Peace Treaty is now in sight, with or without the League.

* * *

March 21. British headquarters are greatly agitated over the attention being given to Lloyd George's statement last night. One of the French papers, the *Echo de Paris*, publishes that he said the League of Nations would not go in the Peace Treaty. This of course is not true, and, if true, it would be a direct challenge to the President. So in order to avoid an open breach, British headquarters put out an explanation which is almost as remarkable as the French statement. What Lloyd George really said, the explanation states, was that the question of including the League of Nations in the Peace Treaty had not been discussed by the Supreme Council, or by him and M. Clemenceau and Mr. Wilson. That is, he knew nothing about it, which is a direct repudiation of Cecil, and hardly in keeping with the very emphatic statements of the President.

The Italian delegation made a most sensational move today when, with Orlando presiding, they formally and unanimously resolved to withdraw from the Peace Conference unless their claims to Fiume and the Adriatic islands off Dalmatia were recognized in the terms of the Peace Treaty. It disclosed for the first time the seriousness of this Adriatic question. The President is giving it special attention in hopes of averting a crisis and avoiding the withdrawal of the Italian delegation.

CHAPTER XXIV

"THE PEACE CONFERENCE IS SITTING ON A POWDER MAGAZINE"

March 22. The President called together the league commission this afternoon for the serious business of considering amendments and revising the whole structure of the covenant. It was the first time he had been with the commission since the eventful day before his departure for America, when he gave up the chairmanship, feeling the chances of success were slight, and left things to Lord Robert Cecil.

The amendments which have accumulated since then have all been in the controversial stage, here and in Washington, but now the President and his commission must decide one way or the other whether they are to be put in the Covenant or kept out. There is a feeling of anxiety shown by the receipt of many cablegrams from America, including those from Mr. Taft and from President Lowell of Harvard, both of them urging privately that something must be done to revise the Covenant, particularly in safeguarding the Monroe Doctrine.

The neutral amendments framed yesterday at the concluding session of the neutral nations number 37. They are chiefly formal, except a Swiss amendment declaring that nothing in the Covenant shall be construed as limiting national sovereignty, and that the internal affairs of states shall not come within the operations of the League.

But by far the most important amendments are those framed under pressure of the American senate, namely, providing for the uninterrupted maintenance of the Monroe Doctrine and for the protection of national authority from any invasion by this super-national organization of the League. A large number of amendments relative to the Monroe Doctrine are being examined, as almost every one in the American commission and connected with it, and many in and out of the American senate, have prepared formulas. The chief purpose of those framed here has been to use the two words, "Monroe Doctrine," and yet to attach as little phraseology as possible to these words. The idea being that the mention of the two words is essential in order to reconcile American opinion, but that their use must be made innocuous in order not to excite other nations to seek protection for their favorite national policies.

While the meeting was going on I saw Colonel House and asked him how it was proceeding.

"We are doing very well," he said, "considering article after article, and are down to article eight. There are no signs of danger thus far."

The Colonel said also that the question of whether Geneva or Brussels would be chosen as the seat of the League had come up, and had been referred to a committee of which General Smuts, Lord Robert Cecil and himself were the members. The Colonel gave the distinct impression that Geneva was likely to become the seat of the League, although the claims of Brussels would be given full consideration, including an offer of one of the fine old palaces as the home of the League. Leon Bourgeois and his French amendment for an international army, to put teeth

in the League, had not yet been reached, but the Colonel said it would surely come up again with some added proposals for an international general staff as one of the organs of the League.

Colonel House added that beside the work in revising the covenant, the Peace Treaty itself was in a very advanced stage.

"It is narrowed down to just two questions," he said: "reparations and adequate security for France against another possible attack from Germany. These are questions which largely concern the French and English, and we are not greatly interested in them. So far as the United States is concerned, the Treaty could be finished today. But the question of reparations is still open as to total amount and its division between the different allies, while the French are particularly insistent on having the Rhine frontier defences made absolutely safe for them against any further menace from the Germans. Clemenceau is not at all satisfied that the safeguards thus far provided will give France sufficient protection, and Marshal Foch is driving Clemenceau for greater and greater frontier protection. But there is absolutely nothing in the stories that Clemenceau is going to resign. He has just been here, and I can tell you for an absolute certainty that he will remain as premier."

This brought up the prospect that the Italian delegation would withdraw from the Conference, headed by Orlando, because of the irritation over Fiume.

"Why, I have just left Orlando," said the Colonel. "He is sitting in there just as happy as a lark and he has not given the slightest sign of withdrawing."

The Colonel added that the President would probably

take in hand this Italian complication on next Sunday and give a good part of the day to figuring out a solution.

* * *

March 23. The President paid a visit today to Château-Thierry, Noyen, Montdidier, and other points of the hardest fighting, where the devastation of French villages is great. This was a concession to French sentiment which still feels quite sensitive over his not giving more time to the devastated regions. The trip is most timely now, as the French feel it will influence him favorably on the claims for huge reparations for this devastation. The Americans, supported by the President, are holding out for a limit of twelve billions, against the French-English demand for forty billions. He has said previously that he did not want the fearful sights of the battlefields to prejudice his judgment as to the amount of these reparations. When he got back tonight he made a statement, calculated to satisfy French sentiment, on the terrible scenes of desolation and destruction he had witnessed.

* * *

The deadlock over reparation stands about this way:

In getting at the amount of war damages, the French first made their estimate of 200 billion dollars and the English of 120 billion dollars; and these were gradually scaled down to 40 billion dollars. But here the progress halted, the American members of the commission were not satisfied that enough had been done, and there was a virtual deadlock. The proposal as it stood was that the 40 billion dollars should be spread over a period of 40 years —a billion a year for Germany to pay. But with the

interest on this outstanding sum it would amount in 40 years to something like 80 billion dollars.

Against this proposal the Americans estimated all available wealth and resources possessed by Germany at home and abroad, as a means of showing the utmost that could be expected. These estimates showed that 12 billion dollars was the very outside limit that could be exacted. This 12 billions is roughly made up of eight billions in assets outside of Germany, consisting of her merchant ships, the railways and mines of Alsace and Lorraine, the coal deposits of the Saar Valley which France expects to get, and the foreign securities and government property in the former German colonies of East Africa, Kiau Chau, Togoland, and the Pacific Islands.

The Americans estimate that seven billions of this property belongs to private German citizens and one billion to the German government, but all of it is subject to the reparation claims. Of the private resources Germany has about one billion dollars in South America, three-quarters of a billion in the United States, and about three billions in all other countries. Should all this be confiscated, it would wipe out about eight billions of the reparation and leave four billions still to be paid. It is calculated that Germany could meet this balance in about 12 years, and that thus the whole transaction could be closed in this period, instead of spreading a colossal burden over 40 years. This is the issue which still holds up progress upon the Treaty, and it is the issue which gave point to the President's trip today to the devastated regions.

March 24. Peace Conference circles have been suddenly startled by the revolution in Hungary, where a coali-

tion with the Russian Bolshevists is openly proclaimed. The Conference is being blamed for not stabilizing Europe and not bringing peace to these distracted regions toward the East. The President says to his friends that the excessive French claims are delaying progress, while the French maintain that it is the President's idealism and failure to get at practical details of the treaty that are the chief causes of delay. Every one traces the Hungarian explosion back to the Peace Conference. Both the French and the English press show growing criticism of the President, and for the first time some of the London papers, notably the London *Morning Post* and the *Daily Express*, are bitterly hostile to the President. A singular report is current that Lloyd George has had some hand in inspiring this unfavorable attitude.

* * *

A special meeting of the President and the three premiers, Clemenceau, Lloyd George, and Orlando, was called for 3 o'clock this afternoon, an hour before the Supreme Council is to meet. Word came from the White House at noon that the President would probably take decisive action with the premiers. He considers the situation grave, because of the delays and the unyielding attitude of the French on reparations and frontiers, and he sums up the situation with the remark:

"The Peace Conference is sitting on a powder magazine."

He will settle beyond the possibility of any further doubt whether the League Covenant is going into the Peace Treaty, and while he has never had the slightest doubt on that point, yet it is desired that the other guiding factors in the

Conference have the same definiteness of opinion. Also he will ask that the two subjects which he holds are responsible for delay—reparation of war damages, and the Rhine frontiers—shall be settled by continuous sessions, with nothing whatever intervening, continuous and uninterrupted sessions until final results are secured. This is very radical action; it is almost cloture; but the President feels that the time has come for very drastic action.

While the President and premiers were in session at the White House, Colonel House was seeing a number of delegates at American headquarters. He took the view that while the delays should be stopped, yet that after all a great deal had been accomplished when one considered that the Peace Conference had been in session only four months.

"Why, think of it," said the Colonel; "four months is not as long as it takes the interstate commerce commission to pass on the railroad rate question, and yet here we have a Peace Conference dealing with the affairs of the whole world."

The Colonel said he had been trying to draft a formula which would meet the rather acute issue over giving France adequate security on the Rhine frontier. The President had seen this formula, and Secretary Lansing, and Henry White had also seen and approved it. But it had not yet been shown to Clemenceau.

Concerning the Hungarian outbreak, the Colonel said it had not resulted from anything the Conference had done, but was rather the expression of the prevailing unrest. And this led him to get out a map which the map-experts had just prepared showing the spread of Bolshevism over

Europe. It was a huge map, with the Bolshevist area clearly marked in red, with big red arrows or darts showing the principal lines of Bolshevist penetration. As a whole, it presented a really formidable appearance of the spread of Bolshevism, over all of Russia and Siberia, with the red darts reaching across Hungary and into the Ukraine, and Poland, and Lithuania, and along the whole line of the western front.

* * *

Word came from the White House late tonight that the President had won his point. The three premiers will meet him in continuous session at the White House beginning tomorrow, and he will keep them at it steadily until the whole treaty and covenant controversy is brought to a definite and final determination.

CHAPTER XXV

THE PRESIDENT WINS—INTENSIVE SESSIONS—COUNCIL OF FOUR IN CONTROL

March 25. The President's study at the Paris White House was the scene today of the new intensive meetings of the premiers, as proposed by the President yesterday to prevent further delays and to meet the growing apprehension in Conference circles. The meeting began at 11 o'clock this morning, was resumed after lunch, and continued practically all day and into the evening. It marked the beginning of this rule by a super-council, consisting of the President and the three premiers, now to be known as the Council of Four. For four months the Supreme Council, or Council of the Great Powers, has been the ruling body. But now this disappears completely. The foreign ministers—Balfour, Lansing, Sonnino, and Pichon—who were part of the Supreme Council, no longer function with this new super-body of four.

Another notable departure is that the Council of Four has made definitely known that there will be no more publicity of what is going on. The communiqués always issued at the close of each session of the Supreme Council, or Council of the Great Powers, are now definitely discontinued. Also, there is to be no stenographic report, or any memorandum of any kind made of the Council. The President's study is rigorously set aside for four persons

only. No one else—no secretaries, stenographers, or the various officials who have been in the background of the Supreme Council—are to be admitted. It is held that the only way entire freedom of views can be exchanged is by keeping them absolutely private. This is considerable of a departure from open diplomacy. This marks the last stage in the abandonment of the first of the Fourteen Points: "Open covenants, openly arrived at; diplomacy shall proceed openly and in the public view."

* * *

One of the delegates, speaking today of the gradual transference of power, first from the Peace Conference as a whole to the Council of Ten, and now from the Council of Ten to the Council of Four, remarked:

"And if the power so readily shifts from sixty men to ten, and then from ten to four, why should it not logically end by shifting to one? I think this will be the result, and it will be interesting to see who is the One."

* * *

It was understood that the President forced the issue of reparations at the council meeting today. But this could only be gathered from the fact that he sent for Norman Davis and Thomas Lamont, the two financial advisers who have made the American estimates on what the war damages should be.

Pertinax, the caustic French publicist, is out in an article declaring that the centering of all power in the Council of Four, and its star chamber sessions, are a defiance of public opinion and a relapse back to the worst phases of secret diplomacy. Everything is now to be determined finally by this council sitting in rigid seclusion, and the

Peace Conference as well as the public, will only know of results when they have become accomplished facts. Colonel House spoke of this Pertinax statement tonight as quite unjust.

"Of course, this council is secret, in the sense of being private," he said, "and how in the world could it be anything otherwise, if any progress is to be made? There has been a great clamor against delay. Now a plan has been devised to overcome that delay, and the plan is for the four best minds in the Conference to shut themselves together in a room and stay there until the delays are over. The trouble with the old Council of Ten was that there were too many people present, for with the secretaries, advisers, and experts, there were usually some forty people present. And the inevitable result when you get forty men together is that some one wants to make a speech. Therefore, they were always speaking and there was no real progress. But with four men sitting alone, there is no incentive for a speech; they must talk intimately, and get down to business. We are going to see results out of this, and while at the outset the meeting of the Four is private, yet everything will be known immediately upon reaching a conclusion."

Colonel House added that there was a distinct tendency at present to join all four treaties.

"If this proposal goes through," he said, "it would be a collective treaty of Germany, Austria, Turkey, and Bulgaria. The main advantage would be that this would tie up Germany with the entire settlement and make Germany a sort of guarantor for the others. But there is objection to the plan on the ground that it will cause delay to get up

these additional treaties and incorporate them with the German. But the effort is being made, as it is felt that the questions affecting all four powers are so interlocked that it will really save time in the long run if we settle them all at once."

"Would the United States sign such a collective treaty, when it had not been at war with Turkey or Bulgaria?" Colonel House was asked.

The Colonel mused for a moment, and then said that he thought this would not cause any trouble; that the United States would sign such a treaty as a whole because we had interests in seeing that all of these settlements were carried out, and particularly so if the League of Nations went through with its guarantee of peace affecting all countries. He said Italy would be particularly gratified to have a collective treaty, because it would bring in Austria along with Germany, and Italy's chief interest was in securing a settlement of issues with Austria.

Colonel House spoke of the plan being urged in the French press that the allied powers should declare war against the Bolshevists. He shook his head at this suggestion, and said:

"There will be no more big armies. People are tired of them, and public sentiment would not sustain them. When it came to assembling an army, I doubt if the French people themselves would approve it; certainly the British would not, and the American public would not have it. If the issue is to be fought out, then it can only be done in a defensive way, as the Poles are doing."

Colonel House disclosed that the program for the Treaty had now been varied so that it would be ready for submis-

sion to the enemy powers on May 1. This is five weeks ahead, and the change of plans indicates that the President is finding a great many obstacles to overcome and that things are not going as smoothly as was anticipated. He said also that May 1 was simply the date of the delivery of the Treaty to the Germans. He was careful to make no prediction, he said, as to what would happen after the Germans got the treaty.

"What the Germans will do, God knows," he said.

* * *

March 26. The President's study was again the center of intense interest as the premiers gathered there for an all-day conference. No event happening since the Peace Conference opened has excited such animated discussion among the delegates as this taking things in hand by the President and premiers. The prevailing view is that it is an expression of strong-arm methods, which, however, are rather admired, as a means of securing results, and of showing the force of character of these four leading figures. While the meetings are still rigidly limited to the Four, yet a slight concession has been necessary because Orlando does not understand English. It would take too much time to have an interpreter. But a compromise plan has been adopted by which a young attaché, skilled in English and Italian, sits beside Orlando and continuously whispers in his ear just what is going on. Thus he keeps up with the proceedings, which go on in English, for Clemenceau speaks English almost as well as French, since he lived in America.

The Reparation tangle was again before the council, it

became known. Clemenceau did not have all his figures ready yesterday, and asked for more time. Today he was fully equipped. The financial experts—French, British, and American—were summoned to an adjoining room where they could be consulted from time to time. After a rather strenuous session through the morning the President told Colonel House at noon that progress was being made and he thought there would be an agreement.

In the course of a long ride this afternoon in the Bois de Boulognes with Colonel House, he spoke of some of the things going on. Orlando had been to see him for an hour's talk. The Italian premier was most friendly, and was seeking to avert any crisis over the Fiume affair. But the trouble was he was being pushed by radical elements in Italy, and some of their representatives here, and this was driving him to a course considerably beyond what he personally approved.

The President was particularly gratified, the Colonel said, at the ability the American financial experts had shown as against the best trained financiers England and France could bring together. Lloyd George had sent to London for Montague of the Treasury, the recognized expert on financial calculations. Clemenceau had sent for Loucheur, who has a similar standing in France. But against these foremost figures of finance the Americans had not only held their own but had led the way, and their estimates and conclusions were now accepted by the British and French as well as the Americans as the basis for all the calculations that were going on. The Colonel also disclosed that a formula for settling the delicate issue over the Rhine frontier had been drawn; it strongly appealed

to the President, who believed it would be a basis of settlement.

* * *

Despite Orlando's favorable attitude, the Italian issue is becoming increasingly acute. I had a glance today at the report telegraphed by the American admiral in command at Spalato on the Adriatic coast. He says the Italian admiral, Rombo, arrested a number of Jugo Slavs without warrant. As the Americans are in charge at this point, a protest was made against the arrest. Thereupon Admiral Rombo appeared before the American and other foreign commanders, and read a statement saying:

"These places are held by Italy under the Treaty of London, which prevails in the absence of any action to the contrary. The United States was not a party to that treaty, so it cannot interfere, as Italy is not under the control or guardianship of the United States."

The French, British and American admirals made a joint protest against this "intemperate language," and each reported it to his government.

* * *

March 27. A policy of dealing with Russia is being put forward with some prospect of success. Colonel House says the main end is to "stop the fighting and let in the light." He believes that if the truth could be had on the real condition of affairs in Russia it would help materially to bring about a settlement. Mr. Bullitt, an attaché of the American commission, is just back from a semi-official visit to the Bolshevist centers. He has made a report but there is much mystery as to it. He will make no statements, but it is understood he reports that a reasonably

stable de facto government is being carried on by the Soviet régime in Russia; that railway trains are running and the interior economic conditions are proceeding with reasonable regularity. The members of the American commission would not be opposed to having Bullitt's report made public, but it has gone to the President, where everything has come to a halt.

The American members of the League of Nations commission have finally reached a formula for the Monroe Doctrine, to be incorporated as a part of the League. But when it was presented at the meeting today, it encountered an objection from a "very distinguished source." Just who made the objection was not disclosed, but it is evidently either the English or French delegates.

"If the group making this objection cannot be won over," Colonel House said, "then the Monroe Doctrine amendment cannot go into the covenant. But we are hard at work trying to reconcile them."

He added that the Japanese were again making an incessant campaign for their equality amendment. They had just been in to see him, and he had sent them to Hughes of Australia, saying that if they could win over Hughes they could probably succeed on their amendment, as every one else was favorable now that it had been trimmed down to an innocuous declaration of equality. Hughes is irreconcilable.

* * *

March 28. The Council of Four were again in session throughout the day at the White House—the Rhine frontier and the Saar Valley during the morning; reparations during the afternoon. Foch and the other commanders

were sent for during the afternoon for a discussion of the serious conditions in Eastern Europe. Foch is pressing for a general mobilization of the central European states—Czecho-slovakia, Poland, Roumania—in order to form a "cordon" against the further advance of the Bolshevists.

"Their idea is to have this joint movement under a French commander," said Colonel House, explaining how the discussion was proceeding, "but while they are willing to command the expedition they seem to think that the United States should pay for it and should furnish the food. I don't think there is any chance for it."

Asked about the critical situation at Odessa, the Colonel said the council had considered it yesterday with a view to seeing what could be done to remedy a bad situation.

"What is the status at Odessa?" he was asked.

"Status?" said the Colonel, "why, there is no status. The French have been driven out and the place is held by the Bolsheviks."

Although Marshal Foch made a strong plea for the "cordon" to be stretched across Europe against the Bolsheviks, the President took issue with him and finally disapproved the plan, Lloyd George then falling in with the same disapproval. This practically ends the French project of a cordon against Bolshevism.

* * *

March 29. Hungary's proclamation in favor of the Bolshevist cause has further increased the difficulties of the Peace Conference over the situation in the East. There were reports today that Hungary had declared war on Serbia, which, if true, may bring on a conflict between the allies and the Bolshevists. Professor Coolidge, of the

American expert body, is just back from a visit to Budapest with a gloomy picture of the confiscation of property and the war on the bourgeoisie. Any member of this favored class who will go to work and actually become a producer receives the protection of this new régime, but as long as his bourgeoisie makes him an idler living on the product of the rest of the community, he is barred of all protection and is considered a menace to the new order.

Doctor Mezes, chief of the American experts, went over this Hungarian situation with me, explaining some of the geographical troubles leading up to the present revolution. Doctor Mezes is president of the University of the City of New York, and has organized the body of American experts on all of the committees dealing with the German, Austrian, Polish, Czecho-slovak, Roumanian, Serbian, and Greek frontiers—the entire range of frontier controversy.

With a map of the new Hungary before him, Doctor Mezes pointed out how the country had been encircled by a ring of other new states, until only a comparatively small area still remained of what was once the vast sweep of old Hungary. There were some seven or eight slices of this detached territory in the ring which now envelops the new Hungary. First, on the northwest was Bohemia, which was set up again along the lines of the old kingdom of Bohemia, because it deserved recognition, Doctor Mezes said, for the great help which Bohemian troops had given the entente in Russia and Italy during the final stages of the war. Then, Bohemia being detached from Hungary, Slovakia, lying next to it, was equally detached, because the Slovaks are closely related in race and language with the Bohemians. Next in this ring came a wedge of Ruthenian

territory which was similarly detached. Then came the great sweep of Transylvania, which has also been detached from Hungary and given to Roumania. Further on was the Banat region of southern Hungary, which had also been detached, but was still at issue between the Serbs and Roumanians. Further on, beyond the Drave River, was more of Hungary which the Jugo Slavs counted within their new frontier. Thus enveloped, all of the new Hungary that remains was the small center of the Danube plain, but this was very rich, and its richness promised to offset the loss of territory at all other points.

* * *

March 30. Geneva was definitely chosen as the seat of the League of Nations by the committee specially designated for this purpose—General Smuts, Lord Robert Cecil, and Colonel House. Brussels and The Hague had no supporters in the committee. Geneva was considered preferable for health and climatic reasons and because Switzerland is neutral soil, while Belgium is within the belligerent zone. Geneva has offered a site on Lake Geneva, about seven miles from the city, comprising a wonderfully beautiful and romantic domain of woodland and hills, with a number of villas which are immediately available in which to begin the work of the League.

Henderson, the British labor leader, lately a member of Lloyd George's war cabinet, came over from London for a conference with Colonel House as to labor amendments to the league covenant. He wants a larger representation of labor in the league, five delegates in all.

Although the President's plan of holding the Council of Four in continuous session until results are secured has

now been in progress for several days, no results are thus far apparent. On the contrary, there is growing evidence of irreconcilable differences, and of an impasse which may bring on a serious rupture. But Colonel House, who is the only medium through which the outer world gets any idea of what is going on behind these closed doors, maintains his optimism and said definitely tonight: "There is no chance of a break."

* * *

March 31. The Council of Four were still holding their continuous sessions at the White House today, with the reparations controversy still on during the morning and the Rhine frontier during the afternoon, without appreciable progress on either branch. The President is beginning to be depressed over the apparent inability to secure results. Clemenceau is constantly reinforced by Marshal Foch in the French contention for powerful frontier barriers as security against the Germans.

The first printed drafts of the newly revised Covenant of the League of Nations reached Colonel House today, and copies were furnished the President and a few other members of the committee. A formula has been reached on the Monroe Doctrine, and is tentatively printed in the new draft. But it is not agreed upon, as the committee seems unable to reach an agreement, and it will be for the Council of Four to make a final decision upon it. Senator Root's suggestion that provision be made for revising the covenant every five years, much as state constitutions are revised at stated intervals, is being favorably considered and may be incorporated in the draft.

It develops that Lloyd George's election promises made

last December are one of the main causes of the deadlock in the Council of Four on the question of reparations. In his speech at Bristol, England, the Prime Minister promised very sweeping provisions in the Peace Treaty, including criminal trial and punishment for the Kaiser, and an indemnity from Germany which would fully cover all of the British war expenditures. When the President seeks to maintain his Fourteen Points, Lloyd George replies that he also is obliged to maintain his promises to the people. Now that the experts have figured out that Germany cannot pay the colossal sums which the British and French wish to assess, it is difficult for Lloyd George to meet his campaign promises. But he is standing by them loyally, and it is proving one of the President's chief obstacles. Another source of irritation is the constant fluctuation of the French claims.

"They shift overnight," said Colonel House. "At one time it will be fifty-five billions, and then it goes to twenty-five billions, and then back again to fifty-five billions."

Two days ago, after the Council began to think it was nearing a settlement, the French came in with an entirely new plan covering twenty typewritten pages.

* * *

April 1. The situation before the Council of Four is rapidly approaching a crisis, with the division sharply drawn on two main questions, frontiers and reparations. Each view is so tenaciously held that practically no progress has been made after ten days of continuous effort. The President is much dissatisfied and has let this be known very plainly to his friends. They are convinced he will maintain his position, and may adopt even more de-

termined means than have been thus far taken. This has led to reports that the President will issue an open statement, practically appealing to the Conference and the world to put an end to the delays, or that, if need be, the Americans will withdraw from the Conference. These reports excite the liveliest comment in Conference circles, but there is no verification of them.

King Albert of Belgium arrived from Brussels, and saw Colonel House as a preliminary to seeing the President. The King is concerned over Belgium's status before the Conference, which has been rather overlooked, particularly on reparations, of which Belgium is in chief need because she was the chief sufferer. Colonel House has made a hasty canvass, and has found that Klotz, the French finance minister, is willing to give priority to Belgium in the payment of indemnities, up to five hundred million dollars. The Colonel expects Lloyd George also will concede this priority to Belgium, in which case Belgium will get the first real money when Germany begins to pay the allies.

While the main Rhine frontier is still sharply at issue, a settlement has practically been reached on the Saar Valley. The French will get these valuable German coal fields as an offset to the French coal mines in the North destroyed by the Germans during the war. Then a plebiscite will be held at the end of fifteen years to determine the political future of the people of the Saar.

* * *

An ingenious plan is now proposed to break the deadlock in the Council of Four on the subject of reparations. Instead of fixing the German war indemnity at forty billions or any other sum, it is now proposed not to state any

sum whatever, but to leave the question of total indemnity to a reparation commission which will examine the whole subject after peace is restored and determine the total amount of damages. This compromise is meeting much favor from both sides. Lloyd George and the French like it, because they can still say that vast sums will ultimately be paid and election promises redeemed. The Americans like it because it at least puts off writing into the Treaty the huge sums urged by the British and French. The Germans will probably prefer it also, as it makes their payments more indeterminate. The experts are now busy trying to get up a formula which will express this idea of an indemnity without naming the amount. It will probably be the first time in the history of great wars where indemnities were exacted that the amount was not stated.

After the Japanese delegates had paid a visit to Colonel House tonight, he was asked as to their chances of getting the amendment for racial equality.

"I would not bet anything on that side," he said, "as Hughes of Australia has settled the Japanese."

* * *

April 2. The Council of Four held morning and afternoon sessions in the President's study, apparently in a last desperate effort to try to reach an agreement. Marshal Foch was there again, and then left for Spa to meet Erzberger, the German delegate, in an effort to adjust the controversy over Dantzig. The Council decided to send General Smuts to Hungary to learn conditions there and to prevent an open breach with the Entente. The revolution is said to have grown out of a mistaken construction on what the Peace Conference had done concerning Hungary.

General Smuts is relied on to keep Hungary from openly declaring war on the Entente. There is a radical British element, however, which says this is a sign of weakness, and that instead of sending Smuts, they should send bayonets.

The President said tonight that some progress had been made on the difficult issue over reparations, but he was not particularly confident. Responsibilities for causing the war have now come up again to further complicate the situation. Secretary Lansing's committee, which has been examining the subject of responsibilities, has divided into majority and minority elements. England and France are for the criminal trial and punishment of the Kaiser, while the United States, Italy and Japan have voted against the criminal trial. With divided reports from the committee, the Council of Four is obliged to make the final decision.

The President received a letter today from King Alfonso of Spain, saying Spain wished to be among the neutrals joining the League of Nations. The President will also see King Albert of Belgium tomorrow afternoon. When the Belgian monarch asked to be received at the White House this afternoon, the President sent word that he was extremely busy, and his Highness thereupon sought Colonel House. Which indicates the rise of democracy and the decline of royalty.

* * *

It is the subject of remark that King Albert did not act through the Secretary of State as an intermediary, but through Colonel House. As a rule, royalty is somewhat punctilious in adherence to formalities, and according to the protocol a Minister of State is the intermediary be-

tween rulers, should there be any occasion for an intermediary. The incident has increased the impression that the coöperation between the President and his Secretary of State is not as close as at one time.

CHAPTER XXVI

AT THE BREAKING POINT—THE PRESIDENT PREPARES TO LEAVE—CALLS FOR HIS SHIP

April 3. Extreme tension has again developed over the failure of the President and Premiers to reach any tangible results after ten days of continuous session. Clemenceau maintains an unyielding position on the question of the Rhine frontier, and the French press joins in a chorus of alarm that the safety of France is in danger if Clemenceau is compelled to yield to the President. Some of the French press are now insisting that Clemenceau shall either carry his point, or shall demand a defensive alliance by which the United States and Great Britain would come to the aid of France if she is menaced. It is now maintained for the first time that such an alliance is essential for the protection of France, as a swift aggression by Germany could not be stopped while the American congress and the British parliament were approving the defensive measures provided by the League Covenant.

As a means of averting an open break, the Council of Four has now called in three consulters—Tardieu for France, Morley for England, and Dean Haskins of Harvard, for the United States. The Council having been unable to agree, they are going to see if the three consulters can agree. The consulters worked throughout last night, until three o'clock this morning. Then after a few

hours' sleep, Tardieu came to American headquarters to see Colonel House. I chanced to see M. Tardieu as he came from Colonel House's office, and as it was a particularly fine day, I spoke to him of the agreeable change of weather.

" Yes, it is about the only thing that's fine," he said bitterly. "We have been at it all night long and will be entitled to several years' vacation if we ever finish with this tangle."

The tone of his comment indicated that he was not over optimistic as to an agreement among the consulters on the Rhine frontier question.

Norman Davis, the financial expert who has been frequently called in by the President, gave me a glimpse today of how things are going behind the scenes.

"The difficulties are extreme," he said, "and while the situation is not desperate, yet it is strained to the very last limit. The President has yielded and yielded, in the interest of harmony, just as far as he can consistently yield without entirely putting aside the principles announced at the time the Armistice was made. The insistence of Clemenceau and Foch has led to their being given assurances of every reasonable military protection along the Rhine and for fifty miles east of the Rhine. It has gone even to the extent of agreeing that any move by the Germans in that area shall be considered as an act of hostility directed against the allied powers. But even with all these concessions the French want more, and the extent of their wants leads to the conviction that what they are seeking is not so much protection but territorial control. All the talk of defenses for military security is camouflage to conceal the

real purpose—the acquisition of territory. But the President is not willing to go that far; he does not propose to create another Alsace and Lorraine. And his determination not to be driven any further makes the situation really serious."

Mr. Davis confirmed the reports that the reparations issue would be adjusted by not specifying the amount of reparation, leaving that to be determined by a commission later on.

The attitude of Foch is something of a surprise to many in the Conference. They had expected to find a man of great soul and magnanimous impulses; a sort of hero who, when the sword was laid aside, would live up to the glory won on the battlefield. But they find Foch unyielding and uncompromising toward the beaten foe. He goes far beyond Clemenceau and is at the head of the movement for the most extreme measures. As Germany is down, he feels the time has come to hold her down.

Speaking of the strained situation in the Council of Four, Colonel House said quite frankly tonight that "there is a decided rise in the barometer." Asked for the reason of Tardieu's call in the morning, the Colonel said: "The burden seems to be getting pretty heavy. Clemenceau has put it on Tardieu, and the President has put it on me, and so we are obliged to get together."

Late in the day the Council of Four added still another trouble to its list. It called in M. Trumbitch, the Jugo-slav minister, to get his view on the Adriatic question. Premier Orlando of Italy immediately withdrew from the Council, declaring that it would be as suitable for the

Council of Four to call in a German as to call in a Jugo Slav.

* * *

April 4. The strain on the President has finally told on him, and Admiral Grayson, his attending physician, has ordered him to remain in bed. He is suffering from a cold and slight throat troubles, which are not regarded as in any way serious. It has the effect, however, of bringing to a halt the continuous sessions of the Council of Four so far as the President is concerned, though Lloyd George and Clemenceau will continue the sessions, calling in Colonel House to take the place of the President.

There is a disposition in some quarters of the Peace Conference to attribute the President's illness to the recent protracted controversies—a diplomatic illness—and to a purpose on the part of the President to relieve himself for a time from the fruitless discussion. It might also serve as a warning to the Premiers not to go too far. This view was rather emphasized when the announcement of the President's withdrawal on account of a cold followed the appearance of an interview with Lloyd George in which he declared that France and England were standing very firmly together and would not be moved from their position. Admiral Grayson says there is nothing serious in the President's condition, but he will not be responsible for consequences unless the President gets complete rest for a few days.

Toward noon Lloyd George and Clemenceau met in the President's study and were joined by Colonel House representing the President. None of them saw the President,

as Grayson's orders for complete rest were imperative. The Council did not take up the knotty questions which have caused so much trouble recently, but received King Albert of Belgium and his minister of foreign affairs, M. Hymans, who discussed the question of Belgium's part of the indemnity. At the afternoon session the Czecho-slovak situation was considered.

After the meeting Colonel House said he thought the situation was rather improved. He had just seen Tardieu and some progress was being made in unraveling the tangle over the Rhine frontier. The Colonel also disposed of the reports that the Italian delegation was at last actually going to withdraw from the Peace Conference, as the result of the Council of Four calling in M. Trumbitch, the Jugo-slav foreign minister. Having just seen Orlando, the Colonel was able to say that the report of the Italian withdrawal was not correct.

"It is pure bunk," said the Colonel expressively.

* * *

The President is finding that the Council of Four, which he entered because it concentrated practically the power of the whole world in the hands of four men, has become a sort of Frankenstein now that its vast power has been turned to the accomplishment of ends which conflict with the high purposes he has espoused and which are a return to the old scramble of the Congress of Vienna. The old diplomacy of Europe is now disclosing the very practical return it expects for the concessions it made to high principles at the outset.

By what right this Council of Four exercises such colossal power is a mystery which the members of the Peace

Conference are unable to explain. There is no resolution by the Conference conferring power on this Council, and it is not an organ or agency of the Conference. As its membership is made up of the heads of government of the Great Powers, it is a sort of super-government. Its authority as representing a concert of these great powers is undoubted. But it does not act in any such capacity, but as an organ of the Peace Conference which has given it no authority.

* * *

April 5. The tension over the inability of the Council of Four to reach results continues and augments. The tone of the French and English press is intensely bitter. The Peace Conference is "going on the rocks" and is "drifting to destruction," says the Paris edition of the London *Daily Mail,* which is widely circulated among the English element of the Conference. Even the Paris *Temps,* usually regarded as the mouthpiece of the French government, says the Council of Four has become the "incompetent four" and that it is time the Conference took things out of their incompetent hands; it argues that the French constitution recognizes only the President of the republic as the treaty-making power, and not Clemenceau, the president of the council. Conference circles are similarly depressed and pessimistic, and the foreign journalists take a gloomy view of the outlook. Frank Simonds says he cabled two days ago "the League of Nations is dead and the Peace Conference a failure."

* * *

The President remained in bed all day, Colonel House taking his place at the Council of Four, which met as usual

at the White House. Colonel House had his first opportunity to talk to the President since he took to his bed. He found him sitting up and reasonably cheerful. Only matters of urgent importance are brought to his attention, and the troubles inside the Council were avoided. The Colonel thinks the President will be able to resume his place in the Council in two or three days, and to preside at the meeting of the League of Nations commission next Tuesday night, when the revised draft of the Covenant will be finally put to the test of adoption.

After the meeting of the Council the Colonel was rather more hopeful. "I think we will be able to agree on everything by the end of another week," he said, "and the drafting of the completed Peace Treaty will then be done the following week, so that the entire work will be completed and the Treaty ready to deliver in two weeks."

The Colonel added that remaining differences over the Saar Valley had been "whittled down" to the vanishing point. The Italians had also been quieted over Fiume, and instead of withdrawing from the Conference, Orlando had definitely promised to attend the meetings of the Council beginning next Monday.

April 6. Lloyd George is out in an interview in the Paris *Matin* saying the Peace Treaty will be completed by Easter Sunday, two weeks from today. This accords precisely with Colonel House's forecast last night, and appears to be by prearrangement between the British and American interests. Lloyd George dismisses the prevailing pessimism; he says everything is proceeding toward an agreement, with delays such as inevitably occur when large interests are sharply at issue and views are vigorously

maintained. But he insists that the best of feeling prevails while the differences are being adjusted.

Some of the American naval officials of high rank connected with the Conference take a very gloomy view of what is going on inside the Council. They have reason to believe that Lloyd George has carried his point on the freedom of the seas, and that the prevailing clamor over delay will gradually force the President to make further concessions. There had been some hope of a provision either in the Covenant or the Treaty by which there would be recognition of America's equality in sea power with England, but all prospect of such a provision has disappeared as a result of the recent discussions in the Council.

* * *

April 7. The President has precipitated an acute crisis by cabling orders to the Navy Department at Washington to have the steamer *George Washington*, now at the Brooklyn navy yard, return at once to Brest. This announcement was made from the White House by Admiral Grayson. It is a clear intimation that the President has lost patience over the delays of the Council in reaching results, and is now preparing to leave. A sensation was created throughout conference circles when the President's orders for his ship were made known. The order was sent from the White House last night. In this case Colonel House had not been consulted, and he said today he did not know of the order.

"But I would not be surprised," he added, "if the President went home in case these delays continue beyond the present week."

While the announcement was being widely made that the

President's ship had been ordered to return, a cabled report appeared in the evening papers quoting acting Secretary of the Navy Roosevelt at Washington as saying that the President had not sent for his ship. This is causing much confusion, as delegates of the Conference are not sure whether this is a canard or the President is really leaving. It developed later, however, that the presidential orders for the return of the ship had been sent on the British cables running by way of London, and in some mysterious way had been held up for several hours. Another dispatch was sent from the White House tonight asking the Navy Department to report when the *George Washington* will sail.

The President's call for his ship results from his feeling that the Fourteen Points are being steadily undermined, and that the French and British are constantly pushing outside of these points. He also feels there has been needless discussion of petty details with constant shifting of position, so that gains one day are lost the next day. This state of mind has probably contributed somewhat to his indisposition which has kept him away from the Council of Four for several days, and has culminated in the order for his ship to return.

* * *

April 8. The President's order for his ship to return at once has aroused intense interest throughout the Conference. There were denials in some French quarters, based on the contradictory reports from the American navy department, but it is an undoubted fact that the ship has been ordered back. Opinion on the move is divided. The adverse critics say it is another threat and they are dis-

posed to regard it as undignified. The President's champions say it is a definite, determined stand for principle, and that the President will carry out the threat, if need be, by returning home without any treaty or league of nations.

"I have told you we would not stand around here doing nothing forever," said Henry White, one of the American delegates.

Secretary Lansing, with his usual diplomatic caution, would say only that the President's action in sending for his ship "justified speculation as to its meaning."

The sharp feeling aroused by the President's course was shown this afternoon while M. Pueau of the French foreign office was delivering his usual talk on Conference affairs, to the British and American journalists who assemble regularly at the Circle Dufayel for this purpose. When M. Pueau was asked as to the President's sending for his ship, he said he had heard rumors that some delegations were "going home to mother," but he did not credit any such move. Then when he was asked what would happen if it was the American delegation which withdrew, there was a quick rejoinder from an English source:

"There would be a great sigh of relief."

Which appeared to disclose quite naïvely the interior state of mind of our English cousins.

CHAPTER XXVII

PASSING OF THE CRISIS—PEACE TREATY ASSURED—THE MONROE DOCTRINE

April 9. A series of agreements reached today by the Council of Four has suddenly dispelled the gloom of recent days and the fear that the Peace Conference was dangerously near a collapse. The first agreement was on reparations or war damages, which has been one of the main obstacles to progress. It is now agreed that a first payment of five billion dollars shall be made within two years, and an inter-allied reparation commission shall then assess the balance through a period of thirty years, beginning May 1, 1921. An agreement was also reached on the responsibility of the Kaiser for bringing on the war, and the means by which he is to be brought to trial. Tonight the Council reached a further final agreement on the Saar Valley issue, so that France gets the coal fields and the League of Nations carries on the political affairs of the district for fifteen years, when a plebiscite will determine its future.

Thus three of the great obstacles to peace have been removed within the last twenty-four hours, and the extreme tension over inaction has given place to renewed confidence in the results accomplished and the prospects ahead. It is now clear that the intimation given by the President in sending for his ship has played a large part in this sudden

transformation, for the results began to take form from the time his decision became known. Word reached the White House last night that the *George Washington* would sail from the Brooklyn navy yard tomorrow, so that the steamer will be at Brest in readiness for the President if there is more delay. The President attended the meeting of the Council, however, and took part in the agreements reached, so that the tension appears to be definitely removed.

* * *

April 10. The progress of yesterday was continued today in the Council of Four, until it really seems that the obstacles in the way of peace are disappearing. The details of the Saar settlement were further perfected today. The provision giving the League of Nations control over the Saar region for fifteen years was a concession to the President, and it is the first definite placing of political authority in the care of the League. The result was a source of satisfaction to the President, as it avoids outright annexation, and it gives the inhabitants of the Saar region an opportunity for self-determination as to their ultimate political status.

The President attended both the morning and afternoon sessions of the Council, again held at the White House, which has now become a sort of definite seat for all of the main work of the Peace Conference. The Rhine frontier question has now reached its final stage and will probably be settled in a day or so. The President also made two calls, one on the Queen of Roumania, who is taking a very active interest in Roumania's status before the Council, and later on Baron Makino of Japan. The call of the

President on the Japanese diplomatist was the cause of much comment, as it was learned later that the Japanese amendment to the League Covenant was discussed during the call.

The American delegates have drafted the Monroe Doctrine amendment after much conference with international experts and legal advisers, including former Attorney General Gregory. If the President approves the draft, he will in person offer it as an amendment at the meeting of the League Commission tonight. Colonel House says the amendment specifically mentions the Monroe Doctrine, and affirms its continued operation.

"The main thing was to use the two words, 'Monroe Doctrine,' " said the Colonel, "the rest will look after itself."

The agreements reached by the Council also cover a plenary session of the Peace Conference to be held tomorrow, to pass finally on the labor branch of the Treaty, and another plenary session in about a fortnight to put through the revised covenant of the League of Nations. Clemenceau is greatly pleased, Colonel House says, at the favorable turn of affairs in the Council, and as the President and Lloyd George are also satisfied, an era of good feeling has taken the place of the strained condition of recent days.

* * *

April 11. The Monroe Doctrine amendment was adopted after a spirited session of the league commission lasting until midnight last night. The President presided, and offered the amendment which had been drafted by the American delegates reading:

"Nothing in this Covenant shall be construed as invalidating any arbitration treaty or regional agreement, such

as the Monroe Doctrine, for the maintenance of peace."

A number of verbal changes were made in this first text, so that the final form of the Monroe Doctrine amendment as it goes into the Covenant and the Peace Treaty, was as follows:

"Nothing in this Covenant shall be deemed to affect the validity of international engagements, such as treaties of arbitration or regional understandings like the Monroe Doctrine, for securing the maintenance of peace."

It will be noted that the Monroe Doctrine is referred to both as a "regional understanding" and as an "international engagement." This last phrasing is truly Machiavellian in the new significance given to the Doctrine. The first draft, it will be observed from the text, was in line with the traditional British attitude toward the Monroe Doctrine as purely American, or "regional." Also, it was an "understanding," that is, presumably, an understanding in America. But the amended text finally adopted specifies for the first time that the Monroe Doctrine is "international," and instead of being an "understanding" that is, an understanding in America, it is made an "engagement," that is an engagement binding all the nations signing the Treaty. It is well to remember these two words, which are now written into the Covenant and Treaty, for the first time giving the Monroe Doctrine a status as an international engagement.

Up to the last moment the British position on the amendment was in doubt, but Lord Robert Cecil finally turned the scales in favor of British support. But the French members of the commission, Bourgeois and Larnaude, were strongly opposed, Larnaude speaking for half an hour in

vigorous opposition. The discussion had lasted until a late hour when the President rose to reply to the criticism. Those who heard him said it was the most dramatic moment in the Conference, and that the fire of the President's speech surpassed anything he had shown in the open debates. But unfortunately this was behind closed doors, without any stenographic notes being taken. For that reason only a few scattered phrases of the President's speech can be given:

"It was the Monroe Doctrine," declared the President, "which held back the wave of absolutism sweeping over Europe in the days of the Holy Alliance. And yet we are chagrined and discouraged to come here and find those whom we came to help in the struggle against absolutism arrayed here in opposition to the doctrine which first served to protect France and the rest of the world against the dangers of absolutism."

Bourgeois and Larnaude held a whispered conference; the vigor of the President's onslaught somewhat disconcerted them. They made it known that there was really no purpose to raise a serious issue against anything which the President held very dear to heart. And so the opposition gradually melted away and the amendment was declared adopted.

* * *

The Peace Conference assembled in its fourth plenary session this afternoon, with a distinguished personnel and with the international labor report as the sole topic of discussion. It was the first gathering of the entire Conference since the President departed for the United States on the presentation of the Covenant of the League of Nations,

and it was chiefly interesting today as one of the rare occasions when all the delegates meet each other, now that most of the daily procedure has passed into the hands of the Council of Four.

The President was, as usual, a leading figure, along with Clemenceau, but Lloyd George was not present, despite his interest in labor affairs. Both of the American members of the labor commission, Gompers and Hurley, had gone to America, and as Gompers had been the chairman of the commission, the direction of affairs fell to Barnes, the labor minister in the British cabinet.

The report presented by Mr. Barnes proposed a permanent organization to look after international labor conditions, with a series of detailed labor terms to be inserted in the peace treaty, and provision for the first international labor conference in Washington.

The labor terms adopted as part of the peace treaty were moved by Sir Robert Borden of Canada as a substitute for the commission's report, and were accepted as better expressing the terms. They provide:

First.—The guiding principle that labor should not be regarded merely as a commodity or article of commerce.

Second.—The right of association for all lawful purposes by the employed as well as by the employers.

Third.—The payment to the employed of a wage adequate to maintain a reasonable standard of life as this is understod in their time and country.

Fourth.—The adoption of an eight hours day or a forty-eight hours week as the standard to be aimed at where it has not already been attained.

Fifth.—The adoption of a weekly rest of at least twenty-four hours, which should include Sunday wherever practicable.

Sixth.—The abolition of child labor and the imposition of such limitations on the labor of young persons as shall permit the continuation of their education and assure their proper physical development.

Seventh.—The principle that men and women should receive equal remuneration for work of equal value.

Eighth.—The standard set by law in each country with respect to the conditions of labor should have due regard to the equitable economic treatment of all workers lawfully resident therein.

Ninth.—Each State should make provision for a system of inspection in which women should take part, in order to insure the enforcement of the laws and regulations for the protection of the employed.

The proceedings of the session were rather solemn and perfunctory with the reading of long reports and their immediate adoption, for the Peace Conference never discusses anything, all that being arranged in advance so that the Conference is merely an approving body. The President had a few words to say, congratulating the labor delegates on what they had accomplished, and paying a fine tribute to Gompers. The American delegates had proposed a series of nine resolutions, rather high sounding, including right of free association, free assemblage, free speech, free press, trial by jury, and "no territorial changes except in furtherance of the welfare of the peoples affected." But nothing came of the resolutions.

* * *

April 12. M. Bourgeois maintains that the Monroe

Doctrine amendment was not adopted last night, while the President and the rest of the commission maintain that it was adopted. The difference appears to arise over the fact that Bourgeois made a "reservation," saying he would carry the question into the plenary session of the Peace Conference. But as he spoke in French no one understood him, and his "reservation" was not considered any interference with the adoption of the amendment.

The Japanese amendment for racial equality also appears to have developed a lively contest in the league commission. The Japanese maintain that they had a majority vote, but the President seems to have considered unanimity necessary, and as presiding officer he declared the amendment lost. The adoption of the amendment making Geneva the seat of the League has also aroused the Belgians, for they say this was put through by a majority vote, whereas the President has just ruled that unanimity was necessary on the Japanese amendment. Another rather grave issue has been raised between the Japanese and their British allies, as the British vote was cast against the Japanese amendment when the final issue came last night. It was through the persistent influence of Hughes of Australia that Great Britain was compelled to take this attitude against her Japanese ally. The Japanese feel it keenly.

The indications are that the Germans will be called in between April 26 and May 5, and the present plans are that the President will take part in the initial sessions of the conference at Versailles.

* * *

April 13. Clemenceau broke silence for the first time

today and told a party of political callers that a settlement had been reached in the Council of Four highly satisfactory to France, on the questions of reparation, the Saar coal fields, and the Rhine frontier. It was a delegation of the radical Socialists who called on him, and he spoke quite freely, whereas he had defied the chamber in the attempts to make him speak publicly. To this powerful political group he was more communicative. He said the discussion with the President and Lloyd George had naturally brought out some sharp divergences, but all had proceeded in good feeling and most of the differences had now been reconciled. France would receive the Saar coal fields and Germany was to be made to pay to the utmost of her ability for all of the losses caused by the war.

The tone of Clemenceau was highly optimistic, and the important group of deputies came away feeling that France had indeed scored a notable success in obtaining about all she desired of the Council of Four. Care was taken that the results of the talk reached the French press, and a wave of satisfaction has colored French public and press opinion.

* * *

April 14. One hundred billion gold marks is to be the amount of Germany's war indemnity, although this is not to be stated specifically in the Treaty, and a reparation commission is to work out the details of the aggregate payments. Norman Davis, the American financial adviser, explained the situation on this important branch:

First—An opening provision on reparations states that the allied and associated governments hold Germany responsible, and Germany admits responsibility, for all losses and damages caused by the unwarranted conflict

provoked by the Central Powers. This is a very broad clause of general responsibility.

Second—This responsibility is to be worked out in detail by a reparation commission consisting of one member from each of the great powers, with authority to take testimony, assemble all data, etc.

Third—An initial payment of twenty billion gold marks is to be made in two years without interest. There will then be a second payment of forty billion gold marks, payable over a period of thirty years beginning in 1921, with a sinking fund beginning in 1926. This forty billions bears 2½ per cent. interest from 1921 to 1926 and 5 per cent. after 1926.

Fourth—The Germans will be required to deliver forty billion marks of additional bonds when the commission determines this shall be necessary, and also anything further that may be required to cover Germany's indebtedness.

The foregoing payments—twenty, forty, and forty billions—aggregate the hundred billion gold marks constituting the indemnity. And yet all is left with the commission, and there is little expectation that the final payment of forty billions will be assessed.

* * *

The President took a decisive step tonight by issuing an official statement that questions affecting the peace with Germany had been "brought so near to complete solution" that the German plenipotentiaries will be invited to meet the allied and associated representatives at Versailles on April 25. This is only ten days hence. The statement makes clear that the President has no further doubt that

agreements are assured, and is prepared to have the Germans come within these few remaining days. The President's statement reads as follows:

"In view of the fact that the questions which must be settled in the peace with Germany have been brought so near complete solution that they can now quickly be put through the final process of drafting, those who have been most constantly in conference about them have decided to advise that the German plenipotentiaries be invited to meet representatives of the associated belligerent nations at Versailles on the twenty-fifth of April.

"This does not mean that the many other questions connected with the general peace settlement will be interrupted or that their consideration, which has long been under way, will be retarded. On the contrary, it is expected that rapid progress will now be made with those questions, so that they may also presently be expected to be ready for final settlement. It is hoped that the questions most directly affecting Italy, especially the Adriatic question, can now be brought to a speedy agreement. The Adriatic question will be given for the time precedence over other questions and pressed by continual study to its final stage.

"The settlements that belong especially to the treaty with Germany will in this way be got out of the way at the same time that all other settlements are being brought to a complete formulation. It is realized that though this process must be followed, all the questions of the present great settlement are parts of a single whole."

It was the President who prepared and issued this statement, although it speaks for "those who have been most constantly in conference."

CHAPTER XXVIII

MOMENTOUS RESULTS—THE BALANCE SHEET—PEACE TREATY COMPLETED

April 15. The past week has wrought momentous changes in the Peace Conference and the affairs of the world. From blank despair a week ago, when the President was ready to take his ship, conditions have now been so transformed that success is assured. The specific changes which have occurred may be summed up thus:

First—The Peace Conference is not to be disrupted by the withdrawal of some of the most conspicuous figures and delegations.

Second—A Peace Treaty is assured and its terms are practically determined.

Third—The revised Covenant of the League of Nations is to be made an integral part of the Peace Treaty.

Fourth—The reparation of war damages is settled by a compromise which recognizes the large British-French claims, but leaves the final amount open to a commission.

Fifth—The Saar Valley coal fields go to France, with the League of Nations in political control for fifteen years, and then a plebiscite.

Sixth—The Rhine frontiers are so established as to give France control of the bridgeheads leading from Germany into France, with allied troops occupying the region for fifteen years.

Seventh—A British-French-American alliance is intimated as giving the French additional guarantees against a sudden onrush from the Germans.

There are many other large questions still to be decided by the Peace Conference—the Adriatic, Russia, Turkey, and the Polish frontier—but these first enumerated have been the obstacles which have threatened disruption, and now they have been suddenly cleared from the path. If one sought to balance the accounts on the foregoing, it would stand something like this:

The President has won on some of his large contentions of principle, but has lost on vital details.

The British and French have gained their main points on large reparations, but have lost in having a commission control the total.

The French have won the rich Saar region temporarily, but have lost in their hope of annexing it permanently.

The French have gained also their Rhine defences, but have lost in an arrangement which is only temporary and creates the fear of another menace after fifteen years.

Having lost on this last point, Clemenceau has made his final stand for a defensive alliance in which the United States and England will come to the help of France if she is again attacked by Germany. Whether he has succeeded in carrying through this alliance is still very vague. The President and Colonel House are silent on the subject, and the silence seems to give assent. When Colonel House was asked as to the reported alliance, he would only say:

"That is a question on which I can not say a word."

It was noted that the Colonel did not deny; he is scrupulously careful not to mislead, even if he does not dis-

close the facts. His answer in this case is generally regarded as similar to what the lawyers call a plea in "confession and avoidance."

The formal admission of the alliance will be made later, and it will be called an "undertaking." And thus with the crowning of Clemenceau's hope, one of the strange anomalies of the Peace Conference will be consummated: A League Covenant which opposes an alliance, and an alliance which opposes a League Covenant. As a measure of expediency, both have won.

Throughout this week of crucial negotiation, it has been an unequal game all the way through. All interests were pooled against the President. He was dealing with high ideals, and they were dealing with intensely practical questions of self-interest. He was practically a novice in the game, just back from America, while they were familiar with every detail of the huge transaction elaborated largely during his absence. It was rather a surprise that the balance-sheet showed anything left on his side. And in the great diplomatic game of ideals matched against practical ends, honors are about even.

* * *

The decline and fall of the Fourteen Points, one by one, has been noted from time to time. But it is possible to sum up now as to all or most of them. Of the fourteen points, only six defined general principles. The others, from the sixth to the thirteenth, related to particular countries: Belgium, France, Russia, Turkey, Italy, Poland, Serbia, Austria-Hungary.

As to evacuation and restoration of France, Belgium, and the other invaded countries, the President's "points"

have been partially realized, though the evacuation would doubtless have been realized without the "points." The tenth point, for the "autonomous development of the peoples of Austria-Hungary," has been realized if this point meant the splitting of the Dual Monarchy into five remnants: Czecho-Slovakia, the new Hungary, the new Austria, parts of the new Jugo-Slavia, and the new Roumania. The sixth and twelfth points, on Russia and Turkey, have not been realized, and probably cannot be; while the ninth point, on Italy, is clouded by the issue over the Adriatic and Fiume.

Of the six points involving general principles, four have disappeared entirely and the two others have dropped into a state of limbo. The fate of those which disappeared has been related as they were from time to time laid away. The first interment was "open diplomacy," which, by the first of the Fourteen Points, "shall always proceed openly and in the public view." The impenetrable secrecy of the Supreme Council, the Council of Four, the League Commission, the Economic Council, and every other arm and agency of the Peace Conference, indicates how far the diplomacy has "proceeded openly and in the public view."

The exact date of the demise of the second point, on the "Freedom of the Seas," cannot be fixed, but it follows closely the initial conferences of the President with Lloyd George and Mr. Balfour at London, and the interview in the London *Times,* which the President "O. K.'d," giving assurance of "Britain's peculiar position as an Island Empire." This commitment to British sea-power, which is a necessary corollary to Britain's being conceded a "peculiar position as an Island Empire," was one of those quiet

but inestimable services which Lord Northcliffe rendered to his country and the Prime Minister, who at that time was his close friend.

* * *

The fourth point, for "adequate guarantees, given and taken, that national armaments shall be reduced," has been on a steady down-grade throughout the Peace Conference owing to the powerful British naval and French military influences exerted on the Supreme Council. The most notable stage of its decline was when the Foch plan for the complete demilitarization of Germany was adopted, without any reference to any reduction of armament, military or naval, by any other power. How far the League of Nations will ever succeed in disarming Europe is indicated by the fact that Leon Bourgeois, one of the chief powers of the League, is for an International army and an International General Staff.

The fifth point, for an "absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims," saw its end when the struggle for territorial extension began and the accord was made stripping Germany of all her colonies and dividing them between the British dominions, France, and Japan. This was the moment when the fifth point was revised to read an "*ex parte* adjustment of all colonial claims" in lieu of the President's formula for an "absolutely impartial" adjustment.

The third point, providing for the "removal of economic barriers and the establishment of equality of trade conditions," has passed away quietly and without ceremony. Its meaning was always doubtful. It might have meant a great deal if "equality of trade" was open to the construc-

tion of meaning "free trade." But this was set at rest at the outset when the Peace Conference created a Commission on International Ports, Waterways and Railways. It fell to this commission to remove economic barriers and establish equality of trade conditions, as far as this could be done. It promptly concluded that "equality of trade" did not mean anything relating to tariffs or customs or free trade, but referred merely to the railway traffic regulations, under which all countries should have equal facilities for forwarding their goods. These traffic rules for the Danube, Rhine and other land and water frontiers formed the chief work of the commission. So that the third point never became very vital as affecting great international issues, and has served chiefly to regulate railway and steamboat traffic.

* * *

The last of the Fourteen Points, providing for a League of Nations, has been realized in part, but this is still to pass the scrutiny of ratification by the American senate, and the result is doubtful. But the Fourteenth Point has one subordinate phrase which has almost escaped attention, and which apparently discloses the origin of Article X of the League Covenant. This Article X promises to be the storm-center of American controversy. It provides that the nations of the League shall together "respect and preserve against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all states members of the League." That is, apparently, the nations shall together preserve the existing *status quo*. This language of Article X is almost identical with a phrase in the President's Fourteenth Point, namely:

"Fourteenth Point—A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants, for the purpose of affording *mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike.*"

This is in effect the precise language of Article X, so that the storm-center of discussion had its origin as far back as when the President framed his Fourteen Points.

Aside from the Fourteen Points, there are other general principles, not in the points, which have suffered the same vicissitudes. The most notable is the principle of self-determination and nationality, with which the name of the President has been conspicuously linked. This principle, too, has gone the way of the Fourteen Points into eclipse or oblivion. For while self-determination has been realized in some cases, there have been many glaring offences against the principles, as in the annexation to Italy of a part of the Austrian Tyrol which is exclusively Austrian in population, in order that Italy may have the strategic water-shed of the Alps: also in parts of the Saar, Dantzig and Polish settlements.

Thus the balance-sheet of the Peace Conference begins to show how far practical ends, and how far ideals, have been accomplished.

* * *

The President was with Colonel House for some time tonight, and as he came away he stopped and greeted a group in the hallway.

"How are you feeling, Mr. President, after the recent strenuous days?" was asked.

"Very well," he replied, "for one who is fighting all the time. I think I'll be fighting in my sleep if this goes on."

The President certainly looked as though the fight was going his way. His face was rather drawn and pale from the recent illness, but he again showed his old-time vigor and there was a look of real contentment in his face. His reference to the fighting still going on was construed to refer to the Adriatic contest, for the fights over the Rhine, the Saar, and reparations are over.

Orlando had been with the President for a long time, and then with Colonel House, trying vainly to settle the Adriatic issue. The President is practically the arbitrator on the Adriatic, for the reason that England and France are bound by the secret treaty of London and cannot contest Italy's claim, whereas the United States not being a signatory of that treaty, the President is free to fight the battle alone. By common consent, therefore, all have agreed to leave it in his hands. But while this is flattering to his authority, yet he is finding it a very difficult question.

* * *

April 16. A strong sentiment is developing to have the United States take the mandatory for Constantinople. Colonel House said tonight that both England and France were strongly favorable to having the United States accept the mandate; so was Italy, and Greece was indifferent.

"England would probably prefer to take it herself," said the Colonel, "but England is opposed by France. So France would be quite ready to take it, but France is opposed by England. Italy also would be glad to take it, but Italy is opposed by both France and England. And so they have all come to think that the only true solution is to have the United States take it, for while they all oppose

each other, none of them opposes the United States. But I don't know that our people in America want any mandates at all in Europe or Asia.

"Personally," said the Colonel, "I would like to see us take Constantinople, just to show the world how America could clean it up and make it a great model city, just as it has done at Manila or Havana. With some strong man as governor general, like General Wood or Hoover, with modern docks, wharves, sewers and sanitation, Constantinople could be made a really great metropolis, worthy its position at the point where three continents meet—Europe, Asia, and Africa."

The Colonel added that the Germans would probably be given a week at Weimar to consider the Treaty, outside of the time of travel from Versailles to Weimar and back.

* * *

April 17. The procedure for meeting the Germans when they arrive at Versailles next week is completed. The President and premiers will probably hold the first meeting with them for the delivery of the treaty. Their actual arrival will be on Friday night, the 25th. The meeting with the President and premiers will be on Saturday, or may go over until Monday. Two days will then be allowed them for reading the Treaty and making inquiries which will facilitate their presentation of the document to the German national assembly now in session at Weimar. They will then have a week at Weimar, returning about May 8th, it is hoped, though there may be such an outburst at Weimar that all these plans may be changed.

* * *

The Peace Treaty is now virtually completed and is a

vast document, upwards of 75,000 words, about the equivalent of a volume of the Encyclopedia Britannica. One of the experts engaged in the drafting of the document told me he estimated that it would take a man about a week to read it, reading steadily ten or twelve hours a day. The Treaty begins with the usual protocol, giving the full list of delegates of countries signatory to the treaty. Then comes a short sharp sentence, hardly more than thirty words, declaring that with the ratification of the Treaty the war is ended and peace is reëstablished. The League of Nations has the place of honor coming first in the subjects treated. Then follow the military, naval, and aerial terms; reparations and responsibility; frontiers of the Rhine, Saar, Alsace-Lorraine; Poland, and the status of Dantzig as an international port; the Schleswig-Holstein boundaries; the labor terms adopted at the recent plenary session; regulation of international waterways and ports, economic and financial terms; and finally the formalities by which the Treaty will be ratified by the various powers.

The text of the Treaty is being prepared in French and English, and a German text may also be prepared so as to hasten the work of the German plenipotentiaries.

* * *

The President is not burdened with the Council of Four for the moment, which is temporarily suspended while Lloyd George is in England. This gives the President an opportunity to see a great number of the personages and delegations which have come here from all parts of the world to lay their claims before him. He has become a sort of citizen of the world, hearing grievances from all over the globe, as those who come feel they may get a hear-

ing before the Peace Conference if they can once enlist his interest.

The President's schedule for today, for example, shows the cosmopolitan character of his labors. It was divided into ten or fifteen minute periods, given to a score or more of important personages and delegations, lasting all day until five-thirty this evening. The exact schedule for the day as issued at the White House was as follows:

LIST OF ENGAGEMENTS OF PRESIDENT WILSON FOR APRIL 17, 1919

11.00 o'clock:	Dr. Wellington Koo, to present the Chinese Delegation to the Peace Conference.
11.10	M. le Marquis de Vogue and a delegation of seven others representing the Congress National Français, to present their view as to the disposition of the left bank of the Rhine.
11.30	Assyrian and Chaldean Delegation with a message from the Assyrian-Chaldean Nation.
11.45	Dalmatian Delegation to present to the President the result of the Plebiscite of that part of Dalmatia occupied by the Italians.
12.00	M. Bucquet, Charge des Affaires of San Marino, to convey the action of the Grand Council of San Marino conferring on the President honorable citizenship in the Republic of San Marino.
12.10	M. Colonder, Swiss Minister of Foreign Affairs.
12.20	Miss Rose Schneiderman and Miss Mary Anderson, delegates of the National Women's Trade Union League of the United States.
12.30	The Patriarch of Constantinople, the head of the Orthodox Eastern Church.
12.45	Essad Pacha, delegate of Albania, to present the claims of Albania.

1.00	Monsieur M. L. Coromilas, Greek Minister at Rome, to pay his respects.
Luncheon:	Newton D. Baker, Secretary of War.
4.00	Mr. Herbert Hoover.
4.15	M. Bratiano, of the Roumanian Delegation.
4.30	Dr. Alfonso Costa, former Portuguese Minister, Portuguese Delegate to the Peace Conference.
4.45	M. Boghos Nubar, Armenian Leader.
5.15	M. Pacitch, of the Serbian Delegation.
5.30	Mr. Frank Walsh.

* * *

While this is a typical day's list of those received, yet there is another list quite as numerous of those who were not received; made up chiefly of those who are waiting at the gates for self-determination from England, France, Italy, and Japan—that is, from the Great Powers, who are strongly for self-determination when it is not too near home. Some of those on this other list, the waiting list, are:

The Egyptian delegation, here to urge withdrawal of England from Egypt and to resist a permanent British protectorate. They have a large mission and are seeking to have America withhold recognition from the doctrine of capitulations.

Mr. I. Kiusic Soho Kimm, member of the Corean delegation. Mr. Kimm has maintained a mission on the rue Châteaudun, from which he wrote the President for a hearing "on the claim of the Corean people and nation to liberation from Japan."

Mr. Sean T. O'Ceallaigh, "member of the conscription of College Green, Dublin, and Representative of the Provisional Government of the Irish Republic." Mr. O'Ceal-

laigh addressed a letter to the President on March 31 last, and has been waiting since then.

Mr. M. Ytchez, delegate from Lithuania, who is seeking recognition for the new independent government.

There are others from Persia, Albania, and from remote Mount Lebanon in the Holy Land, with various pleas of self-determination, along with the Egyptians, Coreans and Irish.

* * *

April 18. Lloyd George returned from London this morning, and Colonel House lunched with him at noon, going over some of the remaining problems of the Conference. Later the Colonel said the Italian issue over the Adriatic would be taken up actively tomorrow with a view to bringing it to a conclusion. The President has already reached a very definite conclusion, but it remains to be seen whether Lloyd George and Clemenceau can be brought to his state of mind. It also developed that the question of introducing a clause on religious liberty into the League Covenant has at last been abandoned. A strong advocate for it came from an unexpected quarter, Roumania. But the English finally concluded that it would be objectionable, for the English constitution recognizes only one Church and the King must belong to that Church.

Colonel House talked with Lloyd George on the Irish question, for the three Irish delegates from the United States had been to see the Colonel. They had first called on the President, who turned them over to Colonel House, and he has undertaken to see what can be done for them. They are asking that the three Delegates from Ireland, including De Valera and Count Plunkett, shall be authorized

by the British government to come here to present the case of Ireland to the Peace Conference. The Colonel has asked them to present all their papers tomorrow, and then he will get it before Lloyd George in some formal way.

The President has concluded that he will be able to return to America in about a month, probably sailing about May 20. He has decided to call an extra session of Congress about June 1. This will permit him to carry back the Peace Treaty, and lay it before the extra session of Congress when it assembles. But all this is dependent on the Germans, for they may raise unexpected difficulties.

* * *

April 19. Marshal Foch has received from M. Dutasta, secretary general of the Peace Conference, detailed instructions as to the military supervision of the German plenipotentiaries when they arrive at Versailles. They are to be treated as enemies until the Treaty is signed, and no communication is to be allowed with them, any breach of this regulation subjecting the offender to prosecution before a court-martial. This applies to journalists in particular, as the French are apprehensive that the Germans will use their presence at Versailles for the purpose of cultivating relations with the press and spreading German propaganda. The Germans are not to wear uniforms, and they are to have no uniformed attendants.

The ceremony of delivering the Treaty to them is to be equally guarded, if the present plans are carried out. These provide that the first meeting shall be strictly private, with no outsiders or press representatives present, and with a brief communiqué afterwards announcing the bare fact that the Treaty has been delivered. Military

guards are to prevent any approach to the neighborhood of the meeting.

Word has come that the Germans, in view of the strict surveillance, will not send important men as their plenipotentiaries, but will designate three minor officials to come here and go through the formalities of receiving the Treaty and carrying it back to Weimar.

The Adriatic controversy is becoming more and more difficult. All efforts to reach a conclusion have been in vain. Orlando has intimated that he may not sign the Peace Treaty if the Adriatic question is not settled. While this eventuality is not expected, yet Colonel House says that if it brought about delay, the President could return to America without signing the Treaty, and sign it after his arrival in America.

* * *

April 20. The Italian issue reached a critical stage today when the President withdrew from the Council of Four feeling that it was useless to go on with a discussion which had been fruitless. The four will meet without him tomorrow. He has given his views and has let it be known they are a finality. He is definitely opposed to Italy's claims to Fiume, and this makes the issue grave.

As this was Easter Sunday, most people went to church, and there were crowds of promenaders on the Avenue Bois de Boulogne and the Champs Elysées. But the President, Clemenceau, and Lloyd George were not among those who enjoyed the day; they kept steadily at work, starting at 10 o'clock this morning, hoping to crowd the Adriatic issue to a conclusion. Orlando was there, with Baron Sonnino, his foreign minister—Sonnino extreme and unyielding,

Orlando more moderate. But even the moderation of Orlando had received a shock by a telegram from the Italian army practically giving him an ultimatum that Fiume must be Italian. One of Orlando's staff, an Italian army officer, said to me concerning the telegram:

"It is indeed an ultimatum, and it shows the Army is with the nation in permitting no compromise on Fiume. Rather than yield, Italy will withdraw from the Peace Conference, will not sign the Peace Treaty, and our forces will occupy the Adriatic front which of right belongs to us under the Treaty of London. We do not propose that England shall get all she wants, including her naval supremacy; that France shall get all she wants, including the Saar and the Rhine front, and that Italy shall be left with nothing. We will leave rather than accept such a result."

With this as the view prevailing, the long Sunday discussion before the Council of Four was without any result, and the President therefore announced that his continued presence would not be necessary, as his position was well known and he had nothing further to say.

* * *

April 21. The Germans have sent word they will send only a minister and two attendants, without plenipotentiary power, to receive the treaty at Versailles. The Council of Four has promptly replied that this procedure is not at all acceptable; that delegates with full plenipotentiary power must be sent. The communication from the Germans came during the night, and the members of the Council were got out of bed in order that word might be sent back to the Germans at once that their plan was not acceptable. Clemenceau was wakened at four o'clock this

morning to approve the reply. Much feeling is aroused by this incident. The French and British take it seriously as a threat of delay and of refusing to sign the Treaty. Others think it the natural result of the military surveillance which was proposed. The Americans treat the matter less seriously.

"The Germans will do about anything we want them to do," said Colonel House, "and if we insist on plenipotentiaries, then they'll send plenipotentiaries, for they want to get through with the thing. They have misunderstood, and have thought it was intended merely to deliver the Treaty to them, whereas we want plenipotentiaries qualified to discuss the Treaty and sign it."

* * *

The Italian situation is even more acute. The President remained away from the Council of Four today, having said his last word. And now Orlando, adopting the President's tactics, has also remained away, having said his last word. Thus both sides appear to have said their "last word." The President has prepared a public statement, to be issued in case there is a break. He came to the Hotel Crillon this afternoon and read the statement to the other American delegates gathered in Secretary Lansing's room. They were unanimous in approving its unyielding attitude against the secret Treaty of London.

* * *

April 22. The Germans announce they will send plenipotentiaries with full powers, who will arrive at Versailles on April 28, less than a week from today. The imperial minister of foreign affairs, Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau, is at the head of the delegation. Their communication

states that it is assumed pourparlers will begin when the Treaty is delivered; that is, they expect discussion, now that the allies have insisted on plenipotentiaries able to discuss. They ask, too, to have full liberty of action, without restraint, and free use of telegraph and telephone communication between their delegation and Germany. All this has been conceded at once, as there is no desire to have further complications.

The President has not yet issued his Italian statement, hoping an accord may yet be reached. Orlando is threatening to leave and to break relations with the Peace Conference.

"If Italy withdraws," said Colonel House, "the Peace Conference will go right ahead. The withdrawal of Italy, while unfortunate, would not prevent the Conference from proceeding with its business and concluding the Treaty with Germany. Orlando is still here, but he did not attend the meeting of the Council of Four today, and he appears to have withdrawn from that body."

CHAPTER XXIX

THE ITALIAN CRISIS—WILSON VS. ORLANDO—ITALY QUITS THE CONFERENCE

April 23. President Wilson caused an immense sensation in the Peace Conference today by issuing a public statement on the Italian issue which has been in deadlock before the Council of Four. The Italians are thrown into consternation and declare they will leave the Conference. The statement was issued tonight after further fruitless efforts in and out of the Council to bring about some agreement. But no agreement was possible, as each side had said its "last word," and all efforts to find a middle ground were in vain. The Conference is now put to one of its most serious tests.

"The war was ended," the President's statement says, "on certain clearly defined principles which should set up a new order of right and justice. Upon those principles the peace with Germany has been conceived and formulated. Upon those principles it will be executed."

He says these principles give Fiume, not to Italy, but to the Jugo Slavs, for the vast commerce lying back of that port. He declines, also, to recognize the Pact of London as a binding obligation on the United States, describing it as "a definite but private understanding with Great Britain and France. . . . Since that time the whole face of circumstances has been altered."

The President's full statement, as written and signed by himself, was as follows:

STATEMENT *IN RE* ADRIATIC

In view of the capital importance of the questions affected, and in order to throw all possible light upon what is involved in their settlement, I hope that the following statement will contribute to the final formation of opinion and to a satisfactory solution.

When Italy entered the war she entered upon the basis of a definite, but private, understanding with Great Britain and France, now known as the Pact of London. Since that time the whole face of circumstance has been altered. Many other powers, great and small, have entered the struggle, with no knowledge of that private understanding. The Austro-Hungarian Empire, then the enemy of Europe, and at whose expense the Pact of London was to be kept in the event of victory, has gone to pieces and no longer exists. Not only that. The several parts of that Empire, it is now agreed by Italy and all her associates, are to be erected into independent states and associated in a League of Nations, not with those who were recently our enemies, but with Italy herself and the powers that stood with Italy in the great war for liberty. We are to establish their liberty as well as our own. They are to be among the smaller states whose interests are henceforth to be as scrupulously safeguarded as the interests of the most powerful states.

The war was ended, moreover, by proposing to Germany an armistice and peace which should be founded on certain clearly defined principles which should set up a new order of right and justice. Upon those principles the peace with Germany has been conceived, not only, but formulated.

Upon those principles it will be executed. We cannot ask the great body of powers to propose and effect peace with Austria and establish a new basis of independence and right in the states which originally constituted the Austro-Hungarian Empire and in the states of the Balkan group on principles of another kind. We must apply the same principles to the settlement of Europe in those quarters that we have applied in the peace with Germany. It was upon the explicit avowal of those principles that the initiative for peace was taken. It is upon them that the whole structure of peace must rest.

If those principles are to be adhered to, Fiume must serve as the outlet and inlet of the commerce, not of Italy, but of the lands to the north and northeast of that port: Hungary, Bohemia, Roumania, and the states of the new Jugo-Slavic group. To assign Fiume to Italy would be to create the feeling that we had deliberately put the port upon which all these countries chiefly depend for their access to the Mediterranean in the hands of a power of which it did not form an integral part and whose sovereignty, if set up there, must inevitably seem foreign, not domestic or identified with the commercial and industrial life of the regions which the port must serve. It is for that reason, no doubt, that Fiume was not included in the Pact of London, but there definitively assigned to the Croatians.

And the reason why the line of the Pact of London swept about many of the islands of the eastern coast of the Adriatic and around the portion of the Dalmatian coast which lies most open to that sea was not only that here and there on those islands and here and there on that coast there are bodies of people of Italian blood and connection but also, and no doubt chiefly, because it was felt that it was necessary for Italy to have a foothold amidst the channels of the

eastern Adriatic in order that she might make her own coasts safe against the naval aggression of Austria-Hungary. But Austria-Hungary no longer exists. It is proposed that the fortifications which the Austrian government constructed there shall be razed and permanently destroyed. It is part, also, of the new plan of European order which centers in the League of Nations that the new states erected there shall accept a limitation of armaments which puts aggression out of the question. There can be no fear of the unfair treatment of groups of Italian people there because adequate guarantees will be given, under international sanction, of equal and equitable treatment of all racial or national minorities.

In brief, every question associated with this settlement wears a new aspect—a new aspect given it by the very victory for right for which Italy has made the supreme sacrifice of blood and treasure. Italy, along with the four other great powers, has become one of the chief trustees of the new order which she has played so honorable a part in establishing.

And on the north and northeast her natural frontiers are completely restored, along the whole sweep of the Alps from northwest to southeast to the very end of the Istrian peninsula, including all the great watershed within which Triests and Pola lie, and all the fair regions whose face nature has turned towards the great peninsula upon which the historic life of the Latin people has been worked out through centuries of famous story ever since Rome was first set upon her seven hills. Her ancient unity is restored. Her lines are extended to the great walls which are her natural defense. It is within her choice to be surrounded by friends; to exhibit to the newly liberated peoples across the Adriatic that noblest quality of great-

ness, magnanimity, friendly generosity, the preference of justice over interest.

The nations associated with her, the nations that know nothing of the Pact of London or of any other special understanding that lies at the beginning of this great struggle, and who have made their supreme sacrifice also in the interest, not of national advantage or defence, but of the settled peace of the world, now unite with her older associates in urging her to assume a leadership which cannot be mistaken in the new order of Europe. America is Italy's friend. Her people are drawn, millions strong, from Italy's own fair countrysides. She is linked in blood as well as in affection with the Italian people. Such ties can never be broken. And America was privileged, by the generous commission of her associates in the war, to initiate the peace we are about to consummate—to initiate it upon terms she had herself formulated, and in which I was her spokesman. The compulsion is upon her to square every decision she takes a part in with those principles. She can do nothing else. She trusts Italy, and in her trust believes that Italy will ask nothing of her that cannot be made unmistakably consistent with these sacred obligations. Interest is not now in question, but the rights of peoples, of states new and old, of liberated peoples and peoples whose rulers have never accounted them worthy of right; above all, the right of the world to peace and to such settlements of interest as shall make peace secure.

These, and these only, are the principles for which America has fought. These, and these only, are the principles upon which she can consent to make peace. Only upon these principles, she hopes and believes, will the people of Italy ask her to make peace.

(Signed) WOODROW WILSON.

* * *

April 24. The Conference is being put to its severest test by the Italian crisis, which is still in the balance and which has shaken the Conference to its very foundations. President Wilson's challenging public statement of yesterday was followed by Premier Orlando's answering public statement issued today. So that the whole subject is now in the open, with the President of the United States and the Premier of Italy stripped like gladiators in the arena. Orlando's response is dignified but very cutting. It accuses the President of precipitating a public issue at the moment the Italians were meeting to try to reach an accord. He says the President's course is a new departure, in appealing to the public, and particularly in appealing to the Italian public against its authorized official exponent, its Premier.

* * *

All through today the controversy has raged fiercely. The Italians were fully prepared to go. Their departure was first set for 11 o'clock this morning; then postponed until 2 P. M., and then again until eight tonight. This gave the impression they were hesitating.

The Hotel Edouard VII, where Orlando and the Italian delegation are quartered, was the chief center of excitement, with the American headquarters at the Hotel Crillon sharing in the general agitation. The great court of the Hotel Edouard VII was crowded with a gesticulating throng of Italian statesmen and officers, all violently denouncing President Wilson. Orlando and the delegation were in session upstairs. I saw one of Orlando's staff as he came down, having known him in Florence and again at Rome where he was a staff officer at the War Office.

"We are leaving for Rome, the entire delegation," he said, with much agitation. "Parliament will be assembled in special session; it will declare for the annexation of Dalmatia and all the regions coming within the Pact of London, and also Fiume. We now have 100,000 men in Dalmatia, and another 100,000 around Fiume. There will be no military move unless the Jugo Slavs attack us. But if they make a demonstration, then Italy will act. The King has telegraphed and is with Orlando in his stand; we are all together: the King, the Army, and the People."

As he spoke a big limousine automobile swung into the court of the hotel, and the eager crowd came to silence as a little gray man in a bowler hat stepped out.

"Lloyd George," was the word which passed through the throng.

It was the Prime Minister come to make a last effort at conciliation. He went direct to Orlando's quarters and they were together for a full hour, the crowd below waiting meantime in keenest expectation. At noon he left, going direct to the White House, where the Council of Four—now the Council of Three by the absence of Orlando—was in session.

"It looks a little better," was all Lloyd George would say. He had succeeded in putting off Orlando's departure for the early part of the day, but there was no assurance as to what would happen tonight.

* * *

Orlando's statement appeared early this afternoon and added fuel to the flame. It is bitingly sarcastic on the President. As issued over the Premier's signature from the Italian headquarters it is as follows:

ORLANDO'S STATEMENT

April 24, 1919.

Yesterday, while the Italian delegation was assembled discussing an alternative proposal sent them from the British Prime Minister for the purpose of conciliating the opposing tendencies that had shown themselves in regard to Italian territorial aspirations, the newspapers of Paris published a message from the President of the United States, Mr. Wilson, in which he expressed his own opinion in reference to some of the most serious problems that have been submitted to the judgment of the Conference.

The step of making a direct appeal to the different peoples certainly is an innovation in international intercourse. It is not my intention to complain about it, but I do take official notice of it so as to follow this precedent; inasmuch as this new system without doubt will aid in granting the different peoples a broader participation in international questions, and inasmuch as I have always personally been of the opinion that such participation was a sign of a newer era.

However, if such appeals are to be considered as being addressed to peoples outside of the Governments that represent them, I should say almost in opposition to their Governments, it is a great source of regret for me to remember that this procedure, which, up to now, has been used only against enemy Governments, is today for the first time being used against a Government which has been, and has tried to be always a loyal friend of the Great American Republic: against the Italian Government.

I could also complain that such a message, addressed to the people, has been published at the very moment when the Allied and Associated Powers were in the middle of negotiations with the Italian Government, that is to say,

with the very Government whose participation had been solicited and highly valued in numerous and serious questions which, up to now, had been dealt with in full and intimate faith.

But above all I shall have the right to complain, if the declarations of the presidential message signified opposition to the Italian Government and people, since in that case it would amount to ignoring and denying the high degree of civilization which the Italian nation has attained in these forms of democratic and Liberal rule, in which it is second to no nation on earth.

To oppose, so to speak, the Italian Government and people, would be to admit that this great free nation could submit to the yoke of a will other than its own, and I shall be forced to protest vigorously against such suppositions. unjustly offensive to my country.

I now come to the contents of the presidential message: it is devoted entirely to showing that the Italian claims, beyond certain limits defined in the message, violate the principles upon which the new régime of liberty and justice among nations must be founded. I have never denied these principles, and President Wilson will do me the justice to acknowledge that in the long conversations that we have had together I have never relied on the formal authority of a treaty by which I knew very well that he was not bound.

In these conversations I have relied solely on the force of the reason and the justice upon which I have always believed, and upon which I still believe, the aspirations of Italy are solidly based. I did not have the honor of convincing him: I regret it sincerely, but President Wilson himself has had the kindness to recognize, in the course of our conversations, that truth and justice are the monopoly of no one person, and that all men are subject to error, and

I add that the error is all the easier as the problems to which the principles apply are more complex. Humanity is such an immense thing, the problems raised by the life of the people are so infinitely complex, that nobody can believe that he has found in a determined number of proposals as simple and sure a way to solve them as if it were a question of determining the dimensions, the volume and the weight of bodies with various units of measure.

While remarking that more than once the Conference nearly failed completely when it was a question of applying these principles, I do not believe that I am showing disrespect toward this high assembly. On the contrary, these changes have been and still are, the consequence of all human judgment. I mean to say only, that experience has proved the difficulties in the application of these principles of an abstract nature to concrete cases, thus with all deference, but firmly, I consider as justified the application made by President Wilson in his message of his principles to Italian claims. It is impossible for me, in a document of this sort, to repeat the detailed proofs which were produced in great number. I shall only say, one cannot accept without reservation the statement that the downfall of the Austria-Hungarian Empire implies a reduction of the Italian aspirations. It is even permissible to believe the contrary; that is, that at the very moment when all the varied peoples who constituted that empire sought to organize according to their ethnic and national affinities, the essential problem caused by the Italian claims can and must be completely solved. Now this problem is that of the Adriatic in which is summed up all the rights of both the ancient and the new Italy, all her sufferings throughout the centuries and all the benefits she is destined to bring to the great international community.

The Presidential message affirms that with the conces-

sions which she has received, Italy would attain the walls of the Alps, which are her natural defences. This is a grant of vast importance upon condition that the eastern flank of that wall does not remain uncovered and that there be included among the rights of Italy that line from Mount Neveso separating the waters which flow toward the Black Sea from those which empty into the Mediterranean. It is this mountain which the Romans themselves have called the "Limes Italianus" since the very hour when the real figure of Italy appeared to the sentiment and the conscience of the people.

Without that protection, a dangerous breach would remain open in that admirable natural barrier of the Alps; and it would mean the rupture of that unquestionable political, historical and economic unity constituted by the peninsula of Istria.

I believe, moreover, that he who can proudly claim that it was he who stated to the world the free right of self-determination of nations, is the very person who must recognize this right for Fiume, ancient Italian city, which proclaimed its Italianness even before the Italian ships were near; to Fiume, admirable example of a national consciousness perpetuated throughout the centuries. To deny it this right for the sole reason that it has to do only with a small community, would be to admit that the criterium of justice toward nations varies according to their territorial expansion. And if, to deny this right, we fall back on the international character of this port, must we not take into account Antwerp, Genoa, Rotterdam—all of them international ports which serve as outlet for a variety of nations and regions without their being obliged to pay dearly for this privilege by the suppression of their national consciousness?

And can one describe as excessive the Italian aspiration for the Dalmatian Coast, this boulevard of Italy throughout the centuries, which Roman genius and Venetian activity have made noble and great, and whose Italianness, defying all manner of implacable persecution throughout an entire century, today shares with the Italian nation the same emotions of patriotism? The principle is being adduced with regard to Poland that denationalization obtained by violent and arbitrary methods should not constitute grounds for *de jure* claims; why not apply the same principle to Dalmatia?

And if we wish to support this rapid synthesis of our good international rights by cold statistical facts, I believe I am able to state that among the various national reorganizations which the Peace Conference has already brought about or may bring about in the future, none of these reorganized peoples will count within its new frontiers a number of people of a foreign race proportionately less than that which would be assigned to Italy. Why, therefore, is it especially the Italian aspirations that are to be suspected of Imperialistic cupidity?

In spite of all these reasons, the history of these negotiations shall demonstrate that the firmness which was necessary to the Italian Delegation was always associated to a great spirit of conciliation in the research for a general agreement that we all wished for fervently.

The Presidential message ends by a warm declaration of friendship of America towards Italy. I answer in the name of Italian people and I acclaim with pride this right and this honor which is due me as the man who in the most tragic hour of this war has uttered to the Italian people the cry of resistance at all costs; this cry was listened to and answered with a courage and abnegation of which few ex-

amples can be found in the history of the world. And Italy, thanks to the most heroic sacrifices and the purest blood of her children, has been able to climb from an abyss of misfortune to the radiant summit of the most resounding victory. It is therefore, in the name of Italy, that in my turn express the sentiment of admiration and deep sympathy that the Italian people have for the American people.

(Signed) V. E. Orlando.

* * *

Having got Orlando to postpone his departure early in the day, Lloyd George made another move to get Orlando back into the Council of Four. At five o'clock this evening Orlando returned to the Council, and it began to look as though Lloyd George would succeed in healing the breach. A little later, however, it was stated Orlando would go to Rome "to confer with his people." The President and Orlando met at the Council, and it is understood the exchange was not of the most agreeable kind.

"I think Orlando will leave," said Colonel House, after the meeting of the Council of Four, "and it will be just as well, perhaps, if he does go. So much feeling has been aroused that it is natural Orlando should want to consult his own people, and if we can avoid too much excitement, good may come of it."

The Colonel said the real trouble grew out of the Italian fear that Fiume as a Jugo-Slav city would displace Trieste as the great port of the upper Adriatic. Trieste is a great city, with 350,000 people, and under Austria it had the vast commerce coming down from Austria. But now, as an Italian city, it has no commerce behind it; no

tonnage to make it a great port. On the other hand, Fiume, under the Jugo Slavs, would have the vast Jugo Slav regions behind it, and would naturally dwarf Trieste. Realizing this, the Colonel says, the Italians are trying to keep Fiume from the Jugo Slavs. It is a battle of cities.

The President sought as a compromise to make Fiume an international city, the same as Dantzig, under the supervision either of the League of Nations or the five great powers. But this plan was not accepted.

"I think Orlando will go home," said the Colonel, "as he wants to consult his people, and explain that he has done his best to carry out their wishes. This will not be a break, as some of the other Italian delegates will remain here."

Speaking of Baron Sonnino, Colonel House said the Italian foreign minister had never once spoken on the Italians holding Fiume.

"All Sonnino's arguments have been for carrying out the Pact of London, which gave Italy Dalmatia and the Islands, but did not give them Fiume."

The Colonel did not think the economic and financial weapon would be applied against Italy to keep her in line with the Peace Conference. But he said quite frankly that such a weapon was at hand if there was any real occasion for using it, and that Italy was peculiarly vulnerable if "the financial tap is turned off."

It seems that Secretary Glass of the American Treasury Department has asked that Italy receive another credit of fifty million dollars. That proposal is now lying on the President's desk awaiting approval.

"If I were the President," said the Colonel, "I would not break my neck to approve that credit just now."

* * *

Premier Orlando left at 8 o'clock tonight for Rome taking with him two of the other Italian delegates, Salvago Raggi and M. Barzilai, and General Diaz, commander-in-chief of the Italian army, who has been here as the Italian member of the Supreme War Council. The other leading figures, Sonnino and Salandra, will leave tomorrow. So the breach is complete; Italy is out of the Peace Conference.

It was a mournful occasion at the Gare de Lyons tonight, as the Italian premier and his party trooped through the crowd on their way home. There were many Italians, including a number of officers, and the Italian tri-color was much in evidence. Orlando looked very grave as he passed along. "Vive Orlando! Vive Fiume!" came from the crowd, to which the Premier raised his hat and gave a faint smile of recognition. The train pulled out amid the vivas of the crowd.

* * *

April 25. The withdrawal of Italy from the Conference has created a very grave situation, which cannot be obscured by treating it lightly in some quarters, as a passing storm. The various delegations are holding meetings to consider what shall be done, as it is suddenly being recognized that the very existence of the Peace Conference is threatened. The French view the situation very seriously. "Chaos," says the Paris *Matin,* which sums up the prevailing French opinion. The American delegates are

not so much moved. "It clears the air," says Henry White.

The final meeting of the President and Orlando, just before the Premier's departure, was highly dramatic, according to French accounts. One version is that Orlando, addressing the President, said:

"Sir, you have appealed over the head of the Italian government to the Italian people. It is my duty to go before the representatives of the Italian people, the Parliament, and say to them: Choose between Wilson or me."

"That is your right," replied the President.

And with that Orlando turned and started on his way to Rome. His train entered Italy early today, and word comes from Turin of tumultuous demonstrations all along the way.

The Council of Three continued its meetings today, but dealt only with "small things." It is hoped the full treaty will be drafted within the next four days. A plenary session will be held on Saturday, despite the absence of Italy, to put through the revised covenant of the League of Nations, for there is no desire to take chances on this by the disruption of the Conference.

* * *

April 26. This has been one of the most anxious days of the Conference, with all eyes turned toward Rome. While work is proceeding on the Treaty preliminary to the first contact with the Germans, yet the absorbing topic everywhere is the Italian issue and what it has in store for the Conference. The reports from Rome show intense anti-American feeling, and the American Embassy is strongly guarded as a precaution against a popular at-

tack. Sonnino and Salandra left for Rome at two P. M., thus removing the last of the Italian plenipotentiaries, those remaining being only subordinates without power.

The President came to the Crillon this afternoon for an hour's conference with the American delegation as to the general situation presented by the Italian withdrawal. One of the officials who was with the Council of Three yesterday said they all looked "worn out." But the President did not show outward evidence of strain or of feeling. He had the usual smile, which however suggested a mask of something else behind.

Colonel House regarded the Italian situation more seriously tonight. This was after the President had been with the American delegation for a full hour.

"All will depend on tomorrow, when Orlando reaches Rome," he said. "We have reports from the Embassy at Rome showing the Italians went crazy yesterday and the fear is that this clamor may have a serious influence on Orlando. In their public demonstrations yesterday, they declared they would 'defy the world.' If Orlando gets into this kind of atmosphere he may not be able to control the situation. They are shouting 'down with the Americans,' 'down with the English,' and 'Vive Sonnino,' as Sonnino is regarded as the most radical. The American Embassy is guarded by the military."

The Colonel added that the British were hopeful that Orlando's visit to Rome would result in a reconciliation, if clamor did not prevent.

"They have reason to expect that Orlando will present a compromise to Parliament. He could carry it if popular excitement does not sweep him off his feet. That is the

danger. The compromise will probably give some international status to Fiume, like Dantzig.

"If Orlando had had the nerve he could have carried that compromise last night. He could have faced down the rest of those Italian radicals. But he wasn't quite equal to it, as the call to Rome had got the upper hand."

"At one point," continued the Colonel, "the British, American and French admirals serving in the Adriatic got up a joint plan by which Italy could control the Adriatic —just what she wants—by having certain strategic islands. This was duly presented to Italy, but she rejected it. And so it went, everything offered was rejected."

The Council of Three was going on as usual, the Colonel said.

"There are many things needing to be buttoned up," he said. "Today they fixed up the Kiel Canal, and the American naval adviser talked with them on the disposal of the German ships. They expect the Treaty to be ready by next Wednesday when the Germans will be at Versailles. They will not take it up piecemeal with the Germans, nor make it public in parts, as they want it all to go out as a whole, to the Germans and to the world. The drafters now say there was an overestimate and that the full treaty will be 70,000 words."

As to Belgium, the Colonel said he was still trying to get them priority of 500 million francs in the reparations, so they could at once start to work. The French had agreed to it, but the British were holding back.

* * *

There are some strange phases in connection with the President's Italian statement, which do not speak well for

the candor of Lloyd George and Clemenceau. The original statement was shown to both of them. This occurred last Monday night when Lloyd George, while approving the document, asked that its publication be deferred till Tuesday. The President held it until Wednesday.

Besides this paper a written statement was made by Mr. Balfour, supporting the President. This was prepared after the President's statement was issued, and was designed to reinforce his position. But in order to avoid further irritating Italian sentiment, the Balfour statement was withheld. It deals particularly with Fiume, on which it is against the Italian position. And this is from the British Secretary of State for foreign affairs. Yet the chorus of British press opinion is strongly against the President.

Admiral Benson told me tonight that orders had gone to Admiral Andrews, in command of the American naval forces in the Adriatic, to be extremely circumspect in view of the strained situation. The American squadron is at Spalatto, on the Dalmatian coast, the center of the Italian-Jugo Slav controversy.

April 27. The strain over the Italian withdrawal continues very tense. The powerful General Federation of Labor of Paris sent a delegation to the White House today with a letter strongly approving the President's stand. It declares this is a contest against imperialism, capitalism, and annexationism. The Federation also sent telegrams to this effect to the Italian labor centers, Milan, Rome, and Turin. The Paris *Temps* says the labor group known as the "Wilsonians," made up of wood-carvers, and headed by G. Longuet, were presented to the President

and gave him a carved frame. The President, acknowledging the gift, said the sympathy of the working people was very precious to him.

It would be a strange sequel if the President's appeal to the people on the Italian question should bring on a labor demonstration. The labor world is preparing for a general strike on May 1—next Thursday—the day the Germans arrive.

* * *

The revised covenant of the League of Nations was made public in concentrated form today; that is, the text of the revised covenant was not made public, but an "analysis" prepared by the British delegation was made public. The analysis says the Monroe Doctrine amendment preserves that document "in so far as it is in agreement with the purposes of the League for the maintenance of peace." That is, apparently, it is not the Doctrine which is preserved, but the Doctrine "in so far as," etc. The analysis naively adds that if any question arises between America and Europe on the construction of the Monroe Doctrine "the League is there to settle it."

The President had telegrams today from Thomas Nelson Page, the American ambassador at Rome, showing the situation there was still acute but perhaps a shade better than yesterday. The ambassador said he had been to see Orlando and asked that he do something to quiet the people in their manifestations against the President. As a result of this, the demonstration at the Capitol was called off, but soldiers were still picketing the streets. The ambassador reminded Orlando that the President had

shown his friendship for the Italians — he had vetoed the immigration bill.

Mr. Page said he gathered from Orlando's talk that he did not intend to return to Paris to sign the Treaty. The Premier regretted this should occur at the moment the Germans were arriving. But either course, his returning or staying away, would be serious, and the Premier said he preferred "trouble from without rather than trouble from within." He could not in the present state of Italian feeling, put his name to the Treaty.

CHAPTER XXX

THE PRESIDENT'S GREATEST TRIUMPH—REVISED COVENANT ADOPTED

April 28. The President had his last and greatest triumph today when, on his motion, the Peace Conference, assembled in plenary session, adopted the revised Covenant of the League of Nations without a word of dissent. The President's motion also named Sir James Eric Drummond, K.C.M.G., C.R., as Secretary-General of the League, and provided a committee to inaugurate the work. Thus one of the notable labors of the Conference is an accomplished fact, and the League of Nations is formally inscribed as a part of the Peace Treaty.

The scene as the Covenant reached its final stage before the Conference was not particularly inspiring. A torrential deluge was falling as the session assembled at the foreign office. The meeting was in the Grande Salle, with the five seats of Premier Orlando and his Italian colleagues vacant for the first time. The delegate from Panama, coming in from the storm, chanced to lay off his black scarf on Orlando's chair. But the delegate from Portugal promptly removed it, remarking that Italy had not yet gone into mourning.

The President occupied as usual the center of the stage. Another distinguished figure, seen for the first time in the Conference, was Paderewski, now Premier of Poland.

He looked the same Paderewski that used to hold spellbound vast throngs by the magic of his music; the same masses of iron grey hair tumbling on either side of his big head and finely-cut face, which has taken on the aspect of statesmanship. Mrs. Wilson sat just behind him.

There was little spontaneity or freedom in the discussion, and it was clear that everything had been carefully arranged in advance so as to avoid the slightest indication of difference or discord. The President was recognized at the outset, but his speech presenting the revised covenant was purely explanatory, taking up one article after another and explaining how it had been changed. He said that most of the changes that had been made were mere changes of phraseology, not changes of substance, and that most of the changes were intended to clarify and make explicit what all had assumed was in the document as it was originally presented. He did not refer to Article X, which has been one of the main points of contention. As to Article XXI, relating to the Monroe Doctrine, he merely said:

"Article XXI is new."

He closed with the nomination of Sir James Eric Drummond as Secretary General, and a proposal that Belgium, Brazil, Greece and Spain shall be members of the council of the League until such time as the League Assembly shall have selected the four members other than those of the Great Powers.

When Baron Makino, the Japanese delegate, was recognized, there was momentary prospect of another storm over the Japanese amendment. But Baron Makino quickly dispelled any apprehension.

"We will not press for the adoption of our proposal for racial equality at this moment," he said. "But in closing I feel it is my duty to declare clearly on this occasion that the Japanese government and people feel poignant regret at the failure of the Commission to approve of their just demand for laying down a principle aiming at the adjustment of this long-standing grievance, the demand that is based upon a deep-rooted national conviction. They will continue in their insistance for the adoption of this principle by the League in the future."

M. Bourgeois, the French delegate, proved equally conciliatory. He again spoke in favor of the French amendment for a military staff "to enforce the obligations under this covenant and to make it effective in all cases of emergency." But having explained it, M. Bourgeois said he would not press the matter.

M. Hymans, the Belgian foreign minister, also said that Belgium could not conceal the deep disappointment felt among the Belgian people that Brussels had not been chosen as the seat of the League of Nations. And yet, having recorded this fact, M. Hymans said also that he would not press the matter.

The Portuguese delegate, M. da Costa, drew attention to Spain being named in President Wilson's motion as one of the members of the Council of the League, and said the Portuguese delegation made a reservation against the choice of any neutral power as a member of the Executive Council of the League.

Now came a momentary lull in the speaking, and an extraordinary thing happened showing the deftness of Cle-

menceau as a presiding officer. Finding that no one rose to speak, Clemenceau said:

"There being no objection, the reservation of the Portuguese delegation will be recorded and the resolution of President Wilson with the Covenant of the League of Nations is unanimously adopted."

There was no vote, and as Clemenceau had spoken in French, it was not well understood for a time that, coupled with the protest of the Portuguese delegation, Clemenceau had declared the Covenant unanimously adopted. The regularity of Clemenceau's action was not questioned, however, as all opposition had disappeared. The discussion promptly turned to the labor clauses of the Treaty, and on this there was extended discussion, until, in a momentary pause, Clemenceau's deftness again came to the front, and he announced:

" There being no difference of opinion, it seems, the text is unanimously adopted."

As the delegates were separating after the session, they remarked on the smoothness with which the revised covenant had been adopted, and Colonel House remarked with a wink:

" It moved with the sureness of a Texas political convention."

It developed after the meeting that the resolution reported from the Council of Three, providing for the trial of the Kaiser by a court of five judges from the Great Powers, had been forgotten. As this is probably the last plenary session before the Treaty goes to the Germans, considerable apprehension was felt over this oversight.

April 29. The Italian situation has taken a turn for the worse. The Italians are not only gone, but apparently gone for good. But Colonel House said tonight that Italy's course would not prevent action by the Allies on the German Treaty. The Italians probably would not come back, he said, and certainly they could not come back in time for the meeting with the Germans.

* * *

April 30. The Japanese-Chinese issue over Kiau Chau was before the Council of Three all day and was practically settled in favor of Japan getting the port, with the promise of giving it back to China, no exact time being fixed for its return. Sir Eric Drummond, the new Secretary General of the League of Nations, lunched with Colonel House at noon, arranging for the launching of the League. There will be three stages: first, after the German Treaty is signed, Colonel House will go to London and extensive headquarters will be opened there for the preliminary organization. Second, the opening meeting will be held in the East Room of the White House at Washington next October, with President Wilson presiding. Third, the permanent establishment will be set up at Geneva next Fall or Winter.

The Colonel says Sir Eric is a good man for the place of general secretary. He has long been the confidential secretary of Viscount Edward Grey, lately British minister of foreign affairs. Premier Venizelos of Greece was approached by the President as to taking the place, and in case he had accepted, the title would have been given of Chancellor, in order to give it rank commensurate with Venizelos's position. But the Greek premier would not

consider leaving Greece and taking up his residence at Geneva.

* * *

Late in the day, after the Council had been on the Kiau Chau question for a long while, Colonel House said the matter was practically settled, but there were a lot of details needing to be " buttoned up." China would get back Kiau Chau ultimately, the Japanese retiring of their own accord.

"I think all the foreign nations will get out of China sooner or later—British, French, Japanese and all the rest," said the Colonel. "It seems to me that is going to be the natural result under the influence of the League of Nations."

"But would the English give up Hong Kong?"

"Why not?"

"And the English influence in the Yangtse Kiang region?"

"There is no use taking that up now," said the Colonel, "as the subject is not up, and is not being proposed, even remotely. But I believe they'll all get out of China in time, say five or ten years from now."

Speaking of the Japanese getting out of Kiau Chau, the Colonel said: "It's strange people are always suspicious when the Japanese want to do anything, and yet other nations occupy Chinese territory in the same way and no one raises a question about it. It must be because this is the first time one of the dark races has ever tried to do anything in world affairs."

Tomorrow being May Day, the day of labor demonstration in Europe, there is prospect of a general strike. Gen-

eral Hartz, in command of the American army contingent in Paris, has ordered all automobiles to be laid up, including those of the American Peace Delegation, as there is danger of the windows being smashed and the tires cut by the mob. All American soldiers are ordered to stay off the streets. Even the President's auto will not be run, and the President will not have his daily ride. Members of the American delegation have laid in stocks of food as an emergency in case of siege.

* * *

The German delegation headed by Count Brockdorff-Rantzau arrived at Versailles last night and is now quartered at the Hôtel des Réservoirs, that historic establishments where Thiers and his French delegates were located in '70 in the negotiations with Bismarck. The delegation is a formidable assemblage of high German ministers, officials and experts, totalling some two hundred and fifty people, including many women. As a precaution against disorder, the party got off the train at Vaucresson, twelve miles from Versailles, and then came the rest of the distance by automobile. Stones were thrown at the train just before it arrived, and some slight damage was done. At Versailles the Mayor had issued a proclamation appealing to the people to abstain from "inopportune manifestations and demonstrations."

A part of the park adjoining the hotel has been set aside for the Germans, and long lines of wire fencing have been put up to keep the people back and to prevent the Germans from circulating beyond the prescribed bounds. Their quarters are well-equipped and every attention is being given to their comfort.

The personnel of this imposing delegation is made up as follows, this being a copy of the pretentious list issued by the delegation:

Delegates:

Imperial Minister of Foreign Affairs Count Brockdorff-Rantzau.
Imperial Minister of Justice Dr. Landsberg.
Imperial Minister of the Postal Service Giesberts.
Oberbürgmeister Leinert.
Professor Dr. Schücking.
Dr. Carl Melchior.

Commissioners:

A. Imperial Ministry of Foreign Affairs:
General Commissioner Director von Stockhammern.
General Commissioner Director Simone.
Envoy von Haniel.
Privy Legation Counsellor von Keller.
Working Legation Counsellor Schmidt.
Working Legation Counsellor Gaus.
Legation Counsellor Freiherr von Lersner.
Legation Counsellor Breitling.
Legation Secretary von Bülow.
Legation Secretary Rödiger.
Dr. Fritz Mac Cahen.

B. Imperial Ministry of Finance:
Under State Secretary Dr. Schröder.
Director Bergmann.

C. Imperial Ministry of the Interior:
Privy Counsellor Beer.
Assessor von Friedberg.

D. Imperial Ministry of Justice:
Privy Counsellor Dr. Richter.

E. Imperial Colonial Ministry:
Privy Counsellor Ruppel.
F. Imperial Economic Ministry:
State Counsellor von Meinel.
Richard Merton.
G. Imperial Food Ministry:
Under State Secretary von Braun.
H. Imperial Ministry of Labor:
Imperial Minister Schwarz.
Privy Counsellor Fritz.
Carl Legion.
I. Imperial Office of Imperial Railway Administration:
Privy Counsellor Eberbach.
K. War Minister and Great General Staff:
General von Seect.
Major Draudt.
Captain Fisher.
L. Imperial Naval Office:
Commodore Heinrich.
Lieutenant Kiep.
M. Armistice Commission:
Dr. von Becker.
Ministerial Counsellor Dr. Schall.
Major von Botticher.

EXPERTS

Bank Director ..... Franz Urbig,
Banker ..... Max Warburg,
Bank Director ..... George von Strauss,
General Director ..... Heineken,
Privy Councillor ..... Cuno,
F. H. Witthoefft,

Privy Councillor .....Hilger,
Professor Dr. Bosch,
Director .....Schmitz,
Councillor of Commerce ...Hardt,
Imperial Councillor .....von Miller,
Councillor of Commerce ...Röchling,
Director .....Lübson,

Besides the foregoing chief officials, there are 16 secretaries to the delegation; 17 press representatives; 8 press secretaries; 22 officials of the bureau; 28 secretaries for the peace negotiations, most of them being young women linguists; 3 chancery officials; 4 interpreters; 4 government messengers; 10 orderlies; 4 stenographers; 1 courier-officer; 2 physicians; 16 telephone and telegraph officials; 1 car inspector; 1 barber.

The delegation will be visited tomorrow by the committee of credentials of the Peace Conference, headed by Jules Cambon, for the exchange of credentials, which will be the first step in the negotiations.

* * *

May 1. A general strike has paralyzed Paris and has sent a wave of uneasiness through Peace Conference circles. The entire transportation system of the city is at a complete standstill—no metros, no trams, no taxis. All the other public activities of the town are halted—no newspapers, no theatres, no restaurants, no cafés. It is an impressive evidence of the power of labor.

Marshal Foch has assembled 100,000 troops in and around Paris, anticipating trouble. The Tuileries Gardens have become an armed camp, with batteries of artillery, field guns, and machine guns. On the Champs Elysées,

every hundred yards, there is a barrier of municipal guards and troops stretched from curb to curb barring all passage up or down the avenue. The government prohibited any marching, and this in turn has stirred resentment.

At three o'clock this afternoon the first armed clash occurred on the Place de la Concorde immediately in front of the headquarters of the American peace delegation. It was an unusual opportunity to see Paris in tumult, and the American delegates and officials were at the windows, while the ladies looked down from the balconies. As the great crowd surged forward, it was met by the troopers with their drawn sabres. There was a bloody crash and scramble, and for a time it looked like an even fight. But the troopers sabred their way steadily ahead, forcing the crowd into the Rue Royale. Many maimed and bleeding men were carried away, and it looked as though the casualties were great. A little later there was another rush on the Boulevard de la Madeleine, with one killed and many injured. But the red flag was cut down and the crowd finally dispersed. Some three hundred guards and soldiers were wounded during the day.

During all this time great crowds of curious people looked on at the fighting as though it was a spectacle. The Parisians have got rather used to this sort of thing, and enjoy its dramatic features. They even make up parties to attend; seats at tables in the neighborhood cafés are reserved in advance, and it is rather like the première of a theatrical event.

* * *

The negotiations with Germany opened at Versailles to-

day, when credentials were exchanged between the German and Allied delegates. The meeting occurred at the Trianon Palace Hotel, in the rooms used by the Supreme War Council during the war. Count Brockdorff-Rantzau was accompanied by Herr Landsberg, Doctor Schücking and two secretaries. M. Jules Cambon, French ambassador at Berlin when the war broke out, headed the Allied representatives, being accompanied by Lord Hardinge of Great Britain, Henry White for the United States, and Ambassador Matsui for Japan.

There was a painful scene as Count Brockdorff-Rantzau came forward to present the German credentials. His emotions seemed to take complete possession of him. He became pale as death and appeared to be on the verge of collapse. He did not speak, and his legs shook so that he sustained himself with difficulty through the ceremony. The humiliation of his position seemed to benumb all his faculties. M. Cambon handed him the credentials of the Allies, and received those of the Germans. Few words were spoken, and the entire ceremony lasted hardly more than five minutes.

* * *

May 2. The Council of Three are taking up the Italian question with a view to getting Italy back in the Conference in time to take part in the opening session with the German delegation. It is probable that overtures of some kind will be made. Ambassador Page telegraphs the President that he has had two more talks with Orlando, who seems disposed to return. Orlando has written a letter to Page deprecating the anti-American demonstrations, and has directed the Minister of the Interior to suppress disorderly

movements, particularly those directed against President Wilson. Some of Orlando's friends are urging him to resign. The ambassador says the cabinet cannot give up the demand for Fiume without endangering a revolution. General Diaz has gone to Trieste because of reports that the Jugo Slavs intend to attack Fiume.

The naval terms of the Peace Treaty have been finally settled by the Council of Three. The German battleships and battle cruisers are not to be sunk as was first planned. The Treaty will merely provide for the surrender of the ships, and it will then be for the Allies to agree among themselves as to their ultimate disposition.

* * *

May 3. The Council of Three has asked Austria to send plenipotentiaries to begin negotiations on the Austrian peace treaty. This is probably a move to bring back the Italians, as Italy is chiefly interested in the Austrian treaty and is vitally concerned in the Austrian frontier. The whole Adriatic question may go into the Austrian treaty.

Colonel House said tonight that the German peace treaty was actually completed to its last detail, and had gone to the printer for the final print. The Belgian share of the indemnity, and the disposal of the German cables, were the last things settled. An effort was made toward the end to put the German merchant ships, captured or interned during the war, into a general pool to be divided among the Allies according to their losses of merchant ships during the war. This would have given England and France the bulk of these ships, including those interned in the United States. But the movement did not succeed, and the ships interned in American ports will be held by the

United States. Brazil will be given the same right of retaining the German ships interned in Brazilian ports during the war.

Up to tonight, when the draft of the Treaty was sent to the printer, it did not contain the clauses for the trial of the Kaiser before an international court. They may still be inserted however, on the order of the Council of Three.

* * *

May 4. Overtures for the return of the Italians are being conducted at Rome by Ambassador Barrère of France. They will doubtless succeed, as Italy now realizes she may cease to be one of the Great Powers who are just now directing world affairs. Thus far there have been the "five Great Powers," but with Italy's withdrawal there are the "four Great Powers." The Peace Treaty leaves many subjects to the determination of the Great Powers. The German colonies will be divided among these powers. Naturally Italy is disposed to come back.

Japan has been definitely awarded Kiau Chau and the province of Shantung, with an agreement that they will ultimately turn it back to China. The award to Japan is in the treaty draft as sent to the printer tonight, but the promise to give it back to China is verbal and does not appear in the Treaty. The Chinese delegation is greatly agitated and has submitted protests to all the delegations.

* * *

May 5. Orlando and Sonnino left Rome last night for Paris, and thus the sensational withdrawal of Italy from the Peace Conference has come to an inglorious end. No promises have been given to them, Colonel House said. The anti-American demonstrations in Rome have not in-

creased the President's favorable disposition toward their Adriatic claims.

The first evidence of renewed Italian participation in the Conference occurred this afternoon, when Marquis Imperiali, the Italian ambassador at London, came to the American headquarters at the Crillon to attend the first meeting of the committee appointed to put the League of Nations in motion. The meeting was in Colonel House's rooms. Sir Eric Drummond, the newly chosen secretary-general of the League, was present, and was directed to prepare a plan of organization which would not anticipate the ratification of the Treaty by the various countries.

The President called as the meeting was going on, and held conferences with several of the American delegates and experts.

* * *

May 6. The last scene before the meeting with the Germans was enacted at the foreign office this afternoon, when the Peace Conference met in secret session for the first time, in order to hear the terms of the Treaty which will be handed to the Germans tomorrow at Versailles. While the Council of Three knew these terms, very few of the other delegates knew them except in the vaguest way. As the document is some seventy thousand words, it obviously could not be read to the delegates, so that M. André Tardieu gave a condensed résumé of its main features.

Four objections and reservations were presented, by Portugal, China, Italy, and France. Portugal's complaint was that the Treaty did not adequately give her compensation for the losses suffered and the military expense

incurred during the war. China, through her foreign minister, Lou Tseng Tsiang, protested against Kiau Chau and Shantung going to Japan. Italy reserved all her rights under the Treaty.

The French protest, coming from Marshal Foch, created much surprise. The Marshal made a vigorous fifteen minute speech. He declared that the military guarantees given France by the Treaty were not adequate, and subjected France to perpetual menace on her eastern frontier. He insisted that permanent control of the bridgeheads on the Rhine was essential; and that the fifteen year period of Allied occupation was in no sense adequate as a protection. The Marshal expressed the emphatic opinion that France should not sign the Treaty.

* * *

Foch's speech disclosed for the first time an open breach between him and Clemenceau. It led Tardieu to make an unexpected announcement, that the Treaty did not stand alone as a guarantee of France's security, as an engagement in writing had been made by President Wilson, Lloyd George and Clemenceau, under which the United States and Great Britain will come to the aid of France in case of an unprovoked attack from Germany. There was a buzz of comment on this announcement, which confirmed reports long in circulation but never officially confirmed until now. The Anglo-Franco-American Alliance is therefore a reality for the defence of France.

At the last moment the provision for the trial of the Kaiser before an international tribunal was adopted by the secret plenary session as part of the Peace Treaty. As finally agreed to the provision reads:

"The allied and associated powers publicly arraign William II of Hohenzollern, not for an offense against criminal law, but for a supreme offense against international morality and the sanctity of treaties.

" A special tribunal will be constituted to try the accused, thereby assuring him the guarantees essential to the right of defense. It will be composed of five judges, one appointed by each of the following five powers, namely, the United States of America, Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan.

"In its decision the tribunal will be guided by the highest motives of international policy, with a view to vindicating the solemn obligations of international undertakings and the validity of international morality. It will be its duty to fix the punishment which it considers should be imposed.

"The allied and associated powers will address a request to the government of the Netherlands for the surrender to them of the ex-Emperor in order that he may be put on trial."

Other articles provide for military court martials for the trial of German military offenders against the laws and customs of war.

CHAPTER XXXI

VERSAILLES: GERMANY RECEIVES THE PEACE TREATY

May 7. The German peace treaty was formally delivered to the German plenipotentiaries at an impressive ceremony held at three o'clock this afternoon in the great hall of the Trianon Palace Hotel at Versailles. Elaborate preparations had been made to give the event a setting commensurate with its historic importance, which brought together for the first time the delegates of the twenty-seven Allied and Associated Powers and of Germany.

As the Allied delegation arrived at the Palace, they were met by the ruffle of drums and the blare of trumpets from the guard of honor drawn up along the front. But this mark of honor was reserved exclusively for the Allies, and as the German plenipotentiaries approached in the distance, the guard of honor discreetly withdrew. The scene within the great hall was one of impressive solemnity. The Allied delegates were first to assemble there, ranged in a great semi-circle. At the head of the table M. Clemenceau occupied the seat of the presiding officer, flanked on his right by President Wilson and the other American delegates, and on his left by Lloyd George, Balfour, and the other British delegates. It was just three o'clock when a functionary of the French foreign office announced in ringing tones:

"Messieurs les Plénipotentiaires Allemandes."

The entire assemblage rose as the German delegates marched in amid an awe-like silence. Count Brockdorff-Ratzau was at the head of the delegation with Dr. Schücking, and then the other plenipotentiaries and Director von Stockhammer of the foreign office. They found their places with some difficulty, immediately facing the group of Clemenceau, Lloyd George, and the President. Brockdorff-Rantzau appeared to have quite recovered his repose, and looked about with a certain air of pride.

Clemenceau at once opened the proceedings, and turning to the German delegation, said:

"Gentlemen plenipotentiaries of the German Empire: It is neither the time nor the place for superfluous words. You have before you the accredited plenipotentiaries of all the great and small powers united to fight together in the war that has been so cruelly imposed upon them. The time has come when we must settle our accounts.

"You have asked for peace. We are ready to give you peace. We shall present to you now a book which contains our conditions. You will have every facility to examine these conditions, and the time necessary for it. Everything will be done with the courtesy that is the privilege of civilized nations.

"To give you my thought completely, you will find us ready to give you any explanation you want, but we must say at the same time that this second Treaty of Versailles has cost us too much not to take on our side all the necessary precautions and guarantees that the peace shall be a lasting one."

M. Clemenceau added that the formal procedure agreed

upon was: no oral discussion to take place, and the observations of the German delegates to be submitted in writing; a maximum period of fifteen days to be allowed for the presentation of the written observations of the German plenipotentiaries.

M. Clemenceau had stood throughout his brief discourse, facing Brockdorff-Rantzau and apparently addressing him personally. He spoke in easy tones, without gesture or declamation. As he took his seat he said:

"Count Brockdorff-Rantzau has the floor."

All eyes turned to the head of the German delegation and waited for him to rise in his place and respond. But he did not rise. He sat there in the large leather chair while the assemblage waited almost breathless. He reached forward for some papers, and then, still seated, began speaking.

"Gentlemen," he said, "we are deeply impressed with the sublime task which has brought us hither to give a durable peace to the world. We are under no illusion as to the extent of our defeat and the degree of our want of power. We know that the power of the German arms is broken. We know the extent of hatred which we encounter here, and we have heard the passionate demand that the vanquishers shall make us pay as the vanquished, and shall punish those worthy of punishment.

"It is demanded of us that we shall confess ourselves to be the only ones guilty of the war. Such a confession in my mouth will be a lie. We are far from declining any responsibility that this great war of the world has come to pass. But we deny that Germany and its people were alone guilty.

"We have not come here to belittle the responsibility of the men who waged the war politically and economically, and to deny any crimes which may have been committed. We repeat the declaration made in the German Reichstag: —'wrong has been done to Belgium' and we are willing to repair it.

"But in the manner of making war, Germany is not the only guilty one. I will not answer reproaches with reproaches, but I ask you to remember, when reparation is demanded, I ask you to remember the Armistice. It took you six weeks before the Armistice was arranged, and six months before we came to know your conditions of peace. The hundreds of thousands of non-combatants who have perished since the eleventh of November, when the Armistice was concluded, by reason of the continued blockade, have been killed with cold deliberation, after our adversaries had conquered, and victory had been assured to them. Think of that, gentlemen, when you speak of guilt and punishment."

Count Brockdorff-Rantzau was speaking with extreme bitterness of tone, and his phrase "it would be a lie" was fairly hissed. He sat stolidly all the time, looking straight ahead through his large horn-rimmed spectacles. President Wilson leaned forward on the desk before him and gazed intently at Rantzau as he spoke. Now the German delegate reached a phase which appeared to impress the President particularly, for he looked more serious and shifted somewhat.

"In this conference," continued Count Brockdorff-Rantzau, "where we stand before our adversaries alone

and without any allies, we are not quite without protection. You yourselves have brought us an ally, namely, the right which is guaranteed by the Treaty and by the principles of peace. The Allied and Associated governments, in the negotiations between October 5 and November 5, 1918, renounced a peace of violence and wrote a peace of justice on their banner. On the fifth of October the German Government proposed the principles of the President of the United States of North America as the basis of peace, and on the fifth of November their Secretary of State, Mr. Robert Lansing, declared that the Allied and Associated Powers agreed to this basis, with two definite deviations.

"The principles of President Wilson have thus become binding on both parties to the war—binding on you as well as on us, and on our former allies. You will find us ready to examine, upon this basis, the preliminary peace which you have proposed to us, with a firm intention of re-building in cooperation with you that which has been destroyed and repairing wrongs that may have been done. We shall examine the document handed to us with good will and in the hope that the final result of our interview may be subscribed to by all of us."

As Brockdorff-Rantzau closed, M. Clemenceau asked if there were any further remarks, and receiving no reply, he declared the session closed. The Germans were the first to leave. The Allied delegates gathered in groups, discussing the address thus made, and commenting on the strange scene of Count Brockdorff-Rantzau remaining seated as he addressed the President of the Conference, while Clemenceau, the president, had stood when he ad-

dressed the head of the German delegation. Some inclined to regard it as due to physical indisposition, while others looked upon it as a studied insult.

Printed copies of the German peace treaty had been delivered to each of the Allied delegates, and a stated number of copies also were lying before the German delegates when they first entered the hall. The delivery of the document is therefore completed, and all thought now turns on whether it is to be accepted or rejected.

* * *

The German peace treaty delivered today is the longest treaty ever framed. It is upwards of eighty thousand words, printed both in English and in French, both of which texts are declared to be official. It is the first time in an important treaty that English has been the official text along with the French, which until now has been the recognized medium of diplomatic and treaty expression. The Treaty has fifteen main heads, which are briefly summed up thus:

Part I—Covenant of the League of Nations.

Part II—Boundaries of Germany.

Part III—Political Clauses for Europe; Belgium; left bank of Rhine; Saar Basin; Alsace-Lorraine; Czecho-slovakia; Poland; Dantzig; Schleswig; Heligoland.

Part IV—German rights and interests outside Germany; German colonies renounced to Allies; China; Siam; Liberia; Morocco; Egypt; Shantung.

Part V—Military, naval, and aerial terms; German military strength reduced to 100,000 men; limitation of armament; inter-allied commissions of control.

Part VI—Prisoners of war and graves.

Part VII—Penalties; arraigning William II of Hohenzollern for a supreme offense against international morality, and providing trial by an international tribunal composed of five judges from the Great Powers.

Part VIII—Reparation; providing cash indemnities and bond payments aggregating one hundred billion gold marks, and creating a reparation commission which will have final determination on the payment of this amount.

Part IX—Financial Clauses.

Part X—Economic Clauses.

Part XI—Aerial Navigation.

Part XII—Ports, Waterways, and Railways.

Part XIII—Labor.

Part XIV—Guarantees, for the execution of the treaty, by the holding by the Allies of the Rhine bridge-heads at Cologne, Coblenz, and Mayence for periods of five, ten, and fifteen years respectively.

Part XV—Miscellaneous Provisions.

* * *

At the same time that the German peace treaty was made public, an official statement was issued announcing that the United States and Great Britain had pledged themselves to make treaties with France guaranteeing their assistance in case of further attack from Germany. This is the so-called Alliance, although the President and Colonel House do not like the word alliance and refer to the engagement as an " undertaking." The official statement says:

"In addition to the securities afforded in the Treaty of Peace, the President of the United States has pledged himself to propose to the Senate of the United States, and the Prime Minister of Great Britain has pledged himself to

propose to the Parliament of Great Britain, an engagement, subject to the approval of the Council of the League of Nations, to come immediately to the assistance of France in case of unprovoked attack by Germany."

This is the undertaking which made Clemenceau beam with satisfaction when the crisis in the Council of Four came to a close some weeks ago. It doubtless makes him recall that ringing sentence in his speech at midnight to the Chamber of Deputies last Christmas:

"An alliance of the Great Powers will be my preoccupation throughout the Peace Conference."

The President announced tonight that he would call an extra session of Congress on May 19.

It was also announced that the Council of Three had awarded mandatories for the German colonies, namely: German East Africa goes to Great Britain; German Southwest Africa to the South African Confederation; Samoa to New Zealand; the Pacific islands below the equator to Australia; the Pacific islands above the equator to Japan; Togoland and the Camaroons go to France and Great Britain who are to arrange a joint mandatory.

* * *

May 8. The Germans have given no intimation of their purpose toward the Treaty. Brockdorff-Rantzau worked until three o'clock this morning, when the complete treaty had been translated into German. His attitude yesterday is construed by the English as defiant and impertinent, particularly his charge that the British blockade, maintained after the Armistice, had killed in cold blood women and children. The American delegates believe that his remaining seated when he addressed Clemenceau was due to

illness, but they feel that he should have explained this fact, and, not explaining it, that it was a marked breach of courtesy, apparently intentional.

The President turned from the great affairs of state today, and went to the races at Longchamps. It was quite a human touch, this putting aside the Peace Treaty for the spectacle of a French race course. It was an ideal day, with a great racing crowd, wonderful toilettes, good sport, and all the éclat of Grand Prix days.

* * *

May 9. The first word from Germany is ominous. Fehrenbach, President of the National Assembly at Weimar, declared:

"The unbelievable has happened; the enemy presents us a treaty surpassing the most pessimistic forecasts. It means the annihilation of the German people. It is incomprehensible that a man who had promised the world a peace of justice upon which a society of nations would be founded, has been able to assist in framing this project dictated by hate."

Scheidemann, Chancellor of the Empire, takes the same view. The president of the imperial ministry has ordered public mourning throughout the country, all amusements being suspended for a week, except those corresponding with the "seriousness of these grievous days."

The sentiment in the Conference is that this may be the first outburst, which will be succeeded later by a calmer feeling tending toward the signing of the Treaty; while some think it means delay and even refusal to sign. The Supreme Economic Council posted a bulletin at noon stating that "all measures have been taken to renew a

strict blockade, stopping all food and material entering Germany, in the event of delay in signing the Treaty."

The Chinese delegation was notified from Peking today not to sign the Peace Treaty unless some modification was made in the clause awarding Kiau Chau to Japan.

* * *

The President took his seat this afternoon as a member of the Institute of France. His initiation to this distinguished body of savants was the occasion for an impressive ceremony, and for an address in which he spoke of the new interpretation he had given Europe of the American people.

"I have had in recent months one very deep sense of privilege," he said. "I have been keenly aware that there have been times when the peoples of Europe have not understood the people of the United States. We have been too often supposed to be a people devoted chiefly, if not entirely, to material enterprises. We have been supposed, in the common phrase, to worship the Almighty Dollar. We have accumulated wealth, sir, we have devoted ourselves to material enterprises with extraordinary success, but there has underlain all of that all the time a common sense of humanity and a common sympathy with the high principles of justice, which have never grown dim in the field even of enterprise. And it has been my very great joy in these recent months to interpret the people of the United States to the people of the world. I have not uttered my own private thoughts,—I have uttered what I know to be the thoughts of the great people whom I represent. I have uttered the things that have been stored up

in their hearts and purpose from the time of our birth as a nation.

"We came into the world consecrated to liberty, and whenever we see the cause of liberty imperiled, we are ready to cast in our lot in common with the lot of those whose liberty is threatened. This is the spirit of the people of the United States, and they have been privileged to send two million men over here to tell you so. It has been their great privilege, not merely to tell you so in words, but to tell you so in men and materials—the pouring out of their wealth and the offering of their blood."

The President also spoke tonight at the meeting of the International Law Society, and declared that the international law of the future must be moulded on broad new lines.

"I mean," he said, "that in a sense the old enterprise of national law is played out. I mean that the future of mankind depends more upon the relations of nations to one another, more upon the realization of the common brotherhood of mankind, than upon the separate and selfish development of national systems of law. So that the men who can, if I may express it so, think without language, think the common thoughts of humanity, are the men who will be most serviceable in the immediate future."

* * *

May 10. The German delegation sent its first notes of protest to the Allies today, and the Council of Four immediately replied, Orlando having resumed his seat in the Council. Brockdorff-Rantzau signs the German notes; Clemenceau's name is on the reply of the Allies. But

President Wilson personally drafted both the replies to which Clemenceau signed his name as President of the Conference. The initial exchange is very sharp. The German note declares that the Allies have abandoned the promised peace of right, which has now become illusory. The reply of the Allies says coldly that they can admit of no discussion of their right to insist on the terms of the peace substantially as drafted. The text of this first clash is as follows:

DEUTSCHE FRIEDENSDELEGATION

GERMAN NOTE

The German Peace Delegation has finished the first perusal of the Peace Conditions which have been handed over to them. They have had to realize that on essential points the basis of the Peace of Right, agreed upon between the belligerents, has been abandoned. They were not prepared to find that the promise, explicitly given to the German People and the whole of mankind, is in this way to be rendered illusory.

The draft of the Treaty contains demands which no nation could endure, moreover, our experts hold that many of them could not possibly be carried out.

The German Peace Delegation will substantiate these statements in detail and transmit to the Allied and Associated Governments their observations and their material continuously.

BROCKDORFF-RANTZAU.

REPLY

The Representatives of the Allied and Associated Powers have received the statement of objections of the German

plenipotentiaries to the Draft Conditions of Peace.

In reply they wish to remind the German Delegation that they have formulated the Terms of the Treaty with constant thought of the principles upon which the Armistice and the negotiations for peace were proposed. They can admit no discussion of their right to insist upon the Terms of the Peace substantially as drafted. They can consider only such practical suggestions as the German plenipotentiaries may have to submit.

CLEMENCEAU.

10th May 1919.

The Germans submitted a second note with this initial protest, enclosing the German draft of a proposed league of nations. This second note also received a stern and brief reply.

* * *

The Austrian treaty has now been taken up by the Council of Four. It will follow the German treaty in the main, with an Austrian indemnity of about five billion kroner. The American naval experts say that the naval terms of the Austrian treaty are already completed. The Austrian navy is completely extinguished, every last ship being surrendered to the Allied Powers, except some small river craft on the Danube. Admiral Benson, who represents the United States, told me he had received a call from an official bearing the title "Admiral of the Jugoslav fleet," who came to say that the Jugoslavs claimed the entire Austrian fleet, which would be constituted as the Jugoslav navy.

"And what do you want of a navy?" asked the American admiral.

The Jugoslav admiral maintained that the new state was as much entitled as the old states to have a navy. He was asked to submit a written statement.

* * *

May 11. The first exchange of notes between the Germans and the Allies is the chief topic of discussion in Conference circles, and the Allied reply is construed in saying in effect: "Sign the treaty or reject it, one or the other; there is no alternative." There is no purpose to parley or negotiate on any phase.

Brockdorff-Rantzau sent two more notes tonight, one on German prisoners, and the other on the labor charter. Instead of replying at once, the Council referred the notes to the experts.

* * *

May 12. The Austrian peace treaty is nearing completion and the official summary is being prepared. The frontier articles contain a provision which may prove another bone of contention like the Saar Valley. This relates to the Tyrol, which is taken from Austria and annexed to Italy although it contains 250,000 Germans, with two German cities, Botzen and Meran, the former with 30,000 inhabitants. The ground for this is military strategy—to give Italy the Alpine frontier which will protect her from the north. The old frontier ran south of the Alps, so that strategically Italy was on the down grade and Austria held the commanding heights. The new frontier reverses this, and besides gives Italy the great Brenner pass through which the conquering hordes from the north have poured ever since the days of the Romans. It gives definite form also, to the secret Treaty of London.

The Chinese delegation received a cable dispatch today from Pekin, giving them the cheerful official information that their "heads will be cut off" if they sign the Treaty with its clause giving Kiau Chau to Japan.

* * *

May 14. The Austrian plenipotentiaries arrived today at Saint-Germain-en-Laye, headed by Chancellor Renner, and the noted juristconsul Lammarsch. They are comfortably installed at the Villa Henri IV, on the terrace overlooking Paris, adjoining the Château François Premier, where the ceremony of delivering and signing the Peace Treaty will be held. The reception accorded to the Austrians was singularly cordial, in marked contrast with the coldness of the German reception. Doctor Renner beamed with satisfaction as he acknowledged the courtesy of the reception, and apologized for not speaking French. The French are no less polite, and the mayor of Saint Germain issued a proclamation calling for the observance of that courtesy which has always been the pride of the city.

Brockdorff-Rantzau has sent another volley of notes, four in all, on labor, on the economic clauses, on the frontiers including the Saar Valley, Poland, and Schleswig, and on reparations. The bombardment of diplomatic notes is coming so heavily that the Council of Four has difficulty in keeping pace with it.

* * *

May 15. Smyrna has been occupied by a Greek landing party, backed by British and French warships and the American battleship *Arizona,* with five American destroyers. It is the first step of the Allies in what will doubtless

be the dismemberment of Turkey, and it gives Greece a coveted foothold on the coast of Asia Minor. By prearrangement the French occupied the harbor forts; the British and Italians surrounded the environs; the Greeks entered the main city. There was a struggle, but by night the city was taken.

The Greek foreign minister, Politis, who is a delegate to the Peace Conference, has been receiving full reports of the taking of Smyrna. One of his chief officials told me the admirals of the Allied fleets hesitated about their right to land, and referred the question to the Council here. Lloyd George was in doubt, until the Greek premier, Venizelos, found a clause in the Turkish armistice authorizing the Allies to adopt all necessary measures of safety and to preserve order. Under this, word was sent to the Allied admirals to proceed with the landing.

The official explained to me that there were reports of 300 killed, but that in fact there were "only 70" casualties. The Turks resisted stubbornly, fighting for the forts and then in the streets, but they were overpowered by the landing parties.

The English have suddenly awakened to the gravity of this step. The Mussulman delegation from India, headed by the Maharajah of Bukanir, protested to Lloyd George, and he in turn took up the question with the Council of Four. The Indians say this dismemberment of Turkey will be resented by the entire Islam world, India, Egypt, Morocco, Algiers, Tunis. It is causing a very thorough re-examination of the Turkish situation.

Brockdorff-Rantzau left unexpectedly tonight for Spa,

and there are reports he has withdrawn from the Conference.

At 6:30 o'clock tonight Admiral Benson received a telegram from Commander Reed from Horta, Azores, announcing his arrival there on the aeroplane NC-4—the first crossing of the Atlantic.

* * *

May 19. Brockdorff-Rantzau returned today from Spa, thus ending the apprehension that he had withdrawn from the Conference. The Germans have three days more before their time limit expires, but there is no indication as yet on their final action. Marshal Foch was with the Council of Four this afternoon, explaining the military steps he would take immediately that the Germans failed to sign the Treaty within the time limit. He had visited the British, American, and French headquarters on the Rhine, where all is in readiness for a concerted advance across the Rhine and into Germany to a depth of about 150 miles.

The chorus of denunciation of the Treaty is rising in Germany. President Ebert has issued a proclamation declaring that the peace terms are in contradiction to the promises of the President's fourteen points, and that the Treaty is unbearable and impracticable. He adds in a semi-official statement that it is "a monstrous document." The German Chancellor, Scheidemann, exclaims "away with this murderous scheme."

* * *

May 20. The President joined the American delegation at Colonel House's quarters late this afternoon for an

hour's conference. General Pershing was present, explaining the plans of American troops in case the Germans do not sign and Foch orders a resumption of military operation. General Pershing gave up his expected visit to London, where he was to be the guest of honor on the departure of American troops.

The American Irish delegation wrote a formal letter to Secretary Lansing today asking that the United States ask the British government to permit De Valera and the other Irish leaders to come before the Peace Conference to state Ireland's case. The request will probably be made of the British, and refused by them. The Irish delegates are pressing for a decision which will place the President formally on record.

It developed late today that Count Brockdorff-Rantzau has sent a note asking an extension of time, and that Clemenceau after consulting with the President and Lloyd George had at once granted the extension until May 29. Brockdorff said in his note that the problems being considered could not be worked out within the time expiring tomorrow, the time-limit originally fixed. The extension of time averts the crisis, at least for ten days.

* * *

May 21. The President today cabled his message to Congress—the first time a presidential message has been transmitted from Europe. The message is deferential and seeks to avert the impending storm in Congress over the Treaty and the League of Nations. It deals with the internal questions, and then adds "I shall take the liberty of addressing you on my return on the treaties of peace and our national action in the immediate future. It would be

premature to discuss them before they are brought to their complete formulation by the agreements being sought at the Conference table."

Clemenceau answered Brockdorff-Rantzau's note on responsibility for the war. Brockdorff had made the point that Germany was prepared to make reparation for the damages to Belgium and France, but that this was not an acknowledgment of responsibility for the war. Clemenceau's answer says the reparations are based on the terms of the German armistice agreeing to make reparations for aggressions by land, sea, and air.

* * *

May 22. Brockdorff-Rantzau, having secured an extension of time until the 29th, again left Versailles tonight for Spa. At the same time Chancellor Scheidemann, Doctor Dernburg, Count von Bernstorff, and Mathias Erzberger have started from Berlin to join Brockdorff-Rantzau at Spa. These are the ministerial figures at Berlin who have had most to do with the question of accepting or rejecting the Treaty, and now, with Brockdorff-Rantzau, they will have the question out to a final issue.

Sir Henry X tells me of a very spirited incident which has occurred in the Council of Four. It appears that while Orlando was in Italy, the Italians carried out a landing at Adena, on the coast of Asia Minor, not far from Smyrna, where the Greeks had landed with Allied approval. But the Italian landing was without Allied approval and took by surprise Orlando's colleagues on the Council. They therefore addressed him a note requesting an explanation. The Greek premier, Venizelos, was also invited to attend the

session of the Council, and readily complied. When Orlando arrived, President Wilson addressed him, saying substantially:

"We have addressed you a note of inquiry as to the Italian landing in Turkey; what are you going to tell us about it?"

Orlando, taken by surprise, and noting the presence of Venizelos, replied:

"I shall be pleased to reply to the Council of Four, but not while an outsider is present."

Venizelos, thus referred to, arose and said he would retire.

"Not at all," insisted the President. "Keep your seat, Mr. Premier."

Venizelos resumed his seat. But Orlando remained mute. There was a momentary pause and it was seen no progress could be made, whereupon Venizelos rose and bowed himself out. What Orlando's explanations were on the landing at Adena has not been announced.

* * *

The taking over of Constantinople by the United States, under a mandate, is now being suggested. Colonel House has gone over the subject with the President, and says it is a matter dependent on Congress.

"There can be no decision under these circumstances," said Colonel House, "but it is being examined from all points of view. France is very anxious to have us take the mandate rather than have it go to Great Britain, and the British are equally anxious to have us take it in order to keep it from France."

The Colonel said that Mr. Koo, the Chinese delegate, had just called, and had indicated that China would sign the Treaty, but with a reservation preserving China's rights as to Kiau Chau.

* * *

May 23. Clemenceau today sent a sharp note to Brockdorff-Rantzau replying to the latter's protest concerning the economic conditions of the Treaty. Brockdorff had said that Germany was stripped of her merchant tonnage and ships, her ship-yards were placed under tribute to build ships for the Allies, her colonies were taken away. This, he declared, condemned a great part of German industry to inevitable destruction. That in turn would make it impossible for Germany to give bread and work to her millions of people. The catastrophe of starvation could not be long put off, he declared.

"Those who will sign this treaty," concluded Brockdorff-Rantzau, "will sign the death sentence of many millions of German men, women, and children."

Clemenceau's answer says: "It seems to have quite escaped the notice of Germany's spokesman that the sacrifice of her shipping is the inevitable and necessary penalty imposed upon her for the ruthless campaign which, in defiance of all law and precedent, she waged during the last two years of the war upon the merchant shipping of the world. No surprise can reasonably be felt if Germany herself is called upon to bear a share of a loss for which her own criminal deeds have been responsible. Her hardships will arise not from the conditions of peace but from the acts of those who prolonged the war. Those who were

responsible for the war cannot escape its just consequences."

* * *

The President has received a letter from Paderewski, now at Warsaw, promising that he will either put a stop to the fighting going on between the Poles and the Ukrainians, or will resign his office as Prime Minister of Poland. The President is a strong believer in Paderewski, and thinks he will carry out his purpose to stop the fighting. He has written the Premier a strong letter upholding his hand. It is probable that the Premier will come here in a few days.

"Will Paderewski be asked about the Jewish pogroms?" Colonel House was asked tonight.

"Yes, he is always asked about them."

"And what does he say about them."

"He says that everytime there is a street fight and two or three Jews get hurt they call it a pogrom. The Poles claim that the real aim of the Jews is to get hold of Poland instead of Palestine as the home of Zionism."

* * *

May 24. Brockdorff-Rantzau returned from Spa tonight after his long conferences with the Chancellor, Von Bernstorff and others. Calmer counsels appear to have prevailed, and he is now getting up a counter-proposal to the Peace Treaty. A special train equipped with a German printing-press, type-setters, etc., has been brought to Versailles to print this counter-proposal, which will be a huge document, substantially a new treaty offered by Germany as a substitute.

The President and Clemenceau today finished another

sharp note to Brockdorff-Rantzau, answering his objections on the Saar Valley going to France. The reply was first drafted by Doctor Mezes and André Tardieu, but the President and Clemenceau put the finishing touches on the document. It is signed by Clemenceau and says:—"I must emphatically deny the suggestion that 'German territories are made the subject of bargains as though they were mere chattels and pawns in a game.' In fact the wishes of the population of all the territories in question will be consulted and the procedure followed in such consultation has been carefully settled with special regard to the local conditions. As regards the inhabitants of the Saar basin, the 'domination' which you term 'odious' is the administration of the League of Nations."

The reply further dismisses the German proposals of a joint occupancy of the Saar coal regions, and maintains that the Allied terms must be carried out.

* * *

May 25. Only four days remains of the time limit to Germany, and there is renewed anxiety as to what will be done. General Pershing is said to be ready for a move toward Berlin.

As Colonel House returned to the American headquarters this noon he carried in his hand a large paper bag.

"What is in the bag?" was asked.

"It's my silk hat."

"Silk hat?"

"Yes, I've been to Lady Blank's funeral and had to wear a silk hat. But I can't bear such hats, and so as soon as I leave a wedding or a funeral, I hide my hat."

And so the Colonel was wearing his Texas sombrero, and was carrying his silk hat in a paper bag.

* * *

May 26. One of the British liaison officers, who has been keeping touch between the British and American peace delegations, said today that Viscount Edward Grey had been chosen as ambassador to Washington, but had not wished to accept for personal and political reasons. He also said that Lloyd George himself had been urged to visit the United States next winter. In case the premier went, which was at least probable, he might visit Boston in the course of his journey for a face-to-face meeting with the prominent Irish citizens at that place, in order to have a very frank discussion with them over the Irish question. This official then added the following suggestion:

"Since the Irish question has not been settled, why not let the League of Nations administer Ireland through a mandate to the United States?"

This is such an extraordinary suggestion that it would seem preposterous if it had not come from an official in such high relation with the ruling powers of the British government.

* * *

May 27. Brockdorff-Rantzau finally completed the German counter-proposal, and tonight dispatched the first copy to Berlin. As soon as it is received at the German capital, it will be delivered to the Council of Four here, probably within the next three days, as this marks the time limit granted the Germans.

Baron Makino, the Japanese delegate, has been given a seat in the Council, so that it is now the Council of Five

instead of the Council of Four. This is another stroke by Japan. It was due mainly to the consideration by the Council of the recognition of Admiral Kolchak, as Japan has taken an active part in Siberian operations near Kolchak. The Council has now drafted a note, signed by the President and the other four, telling Kolchak he will be recognized if he will guarantee calling a national assembly on reaching Moscow, and will assure the independence of Esthonia, Lithuania, and the fringe of Russian country on the Baltic.

CHAPTER XXXII

GERMAN DELAYS—AN ULTIMATUM

May 28. Count Brockdorff-Rantzau today delivered the German counter-proposal on the conditions of peace. It is a formidable document of 119 pages, the results of the conferences at Spa. This inaugurates the final stage of the negotiations, which promise to be prolonged in view of the bitterness and the diplomatic skill with which this document is presented. It severely arraigns the complete abandonment of President Wilson's Fourteen Points, declares this is a Treaty of Might instead of the promised Treaty of Right, and demands a return to the original agreement under the Armistice. With the caustic letter of transmission is a complete treaty submitted as a basis of further negotiation. The letter says at the outset:

"The German delegates consider, as a result of the interchange of communications with President Wilson, that Germany as a basis of peace has expressly accepted President Wilson's Fourteen Points, and nothing else. The acceptance of the terms of the Armistice was to be evidence for the honest acceptance of these conditions by Germany. This evidence has been furnished. The Allies also have accepted President Wilson's Fourteen Points, and a solemn agreement as to the basis of peace therefore exists between the two contracting parties. Ger-

many has a right to this basis, and the Allies by forsaking it, would break an international legal agreement. But the practical application of the principles must be negotiated upon. Germany has a right to discussion."

In detail, the Germans ask for immediate admission to the League of Nations, return of the German colonies, to be administered under a mandate from the League of Nations; a revision of the proposed military, naval and air terms; they offer one hundred billion marks as reparations, to be paid without interest; they refuse to surrender the Kaiser or other military offenders to an ex-party tribunal of the enemy; and propose revision of the Saar Valley, Silesian and Polish boundaries provisions.

Twenty translators were set at work on the Brockdorff-Rantzau document as soon as it was turned over. It will take several days for the physical work on this huge volume, and then will come the difficult task of reading and answering the ingenious and forceful presentation that has been made. The President's hopes of sailing at an early day came to an end with the appearance of this document and the diplomatic struggle it involves.

* * *

May 29. The Peace Treaty is to be modified as a result of the German counter-proposal. This much became clear today as a result of discussion among the British and American delegates, although the French are standing out against any change. Colonel House says the changes are most likely to be made on reparations, fixing the amount definitely, also on the Polish frontier, and on admitting Germany to the League of Nations.

The British were at first rather opposed to any yielding

to the Germans, but now it develops that Lloyd George is strongly for such changes as will get the Treaty signed without further delay. He has broken with the Northcliffe press, which is irreconcilable, and is listening to the milder counsels of the conservative wing and to the powerful labor element.

* * *

May 30. This is the first Decoration Day since the American troops fought at Château-Thierry, Soissons, and all along the Western front. The 20,000 American graves in the Argonne were decorated, and the thousands at Suresne. General Pershing was at the Argonne ceremony; the President at Suresne, which is just outside Paris on the slopes of Mount Valerian.

The President's Memorial Day address, made as he stood in the midst of this great sweep of soldier graves, was impressive, with a suggestion of the Lincoln address at Gettysburg, but much longer, more declamatory, and a little political, for it warned the American Senate that those who are opposing the League of Nations are "defiling the graves of these soldier dead lying here," and that they will be "crushed under the wheels of the car of Progress."

"I look for the time," he said, "when every man who puts his counsel against the united service of mankind under the League of Nations will be just as ashamed of it as if he now regretted the union of the States."

* * *

May 31. The secret plenary session held at the foreign office this afternoon decided on the delivery of the Austrian treaty next Monday, in its present incomplete state

without the military and reparation terms. The decision was reached after much protesting by the Small Powers and a number of formal reservations.

Premier Bratiano of Roumania took the lead in the protests of the Small Powers, followed by Trumbitch, the minister of foreign affairs of Serbia, Krametz for the Czechoslovaks, and Dmowski for Poland. Their protest was directed against the clauses binding them to enact laws giving equal rights to minorities, with full liberty without distinction of "race, language, and religion." This they maintained gives equality to the Jews with their German schools for the German Jews. But the clause giving chief offense is one making the League of Nations a surveillant over these countries for the proper protection of minorities. This was denounced as an infringement of their sovereignty.

The President made a conciliatory speech but did not succeed in removing the ill feeling among the delegates from the Small Powers. They declare that they will not sign the Treaty.

* * *

June 2. Impressive ceremonies were held at noon today at the ancient Château François Premier at Saint Germain when the Austrian treaty was formally delivered to the Austrian plenipotentiaries. Chancellor Renner who headed the delegation created a very favorable impression by his marked good nature, in strong contrast with the haughty demeanor of Brockdorff-Rantzau when the German treaty was delivered. Clemenceau, Lloyd George and the President were again the central figures in the ceremony. Clemenceau's speech was limited to a formal and

rather polite delivery of the document, with the statement that fifteen days would be allowed for reply. Chancellor Renner in answering referred in glowing terms to "this illustrious tribunal, the world's highest authority." He came, he said, representing part of a "vanquished Empire."

"And we came," he added, "to receive peace from the hands of victors."

This is a concession which the Germans have studiously avoided. Renner urged particularly that Austria should not be denied the right of self-determination which was being given so generously to other powers; which means, of course, that Austria wishes the right of self-determination in being united with Germany. The moderation and deference of his speech made a distinct impression, and the talk among delegates is all favorable to Austria.

Colonel House said tonight that the American delegation had not received the resolutions of the American Senate asking for the separation of the League Covenant from the Treaty.

"It is rather late for such resolutions," he added.

Lloyd George assembled the British cabinet ministers here today to consider what should be done on the German counter-proposals. The general trend of sentiment was distinctly favorable to modification of the Treaty as originally presented. The tendency in the American delegation is also toward modification, first in fixing the amount of reparation, next in admitting Germany to the League of Nations, and then in limiting the period and terms of occupation in the Saar Valley and Silesia.

* * *

June 3. The President came to American headquarters

at eleven this morning and remained two hours with the American delegation and all the American experts, going over the German counter-proposals. Singularly, although they had all been here in Paris for the past four months and the Peace Conference was nearing its close, yet this was the first time the delegates and the experts had met together. Discussion was very earnest, disclosing one of the most critical conditions which has arisen since the Conference began.

The issue turns on whether the German treaty should be modified to gain Germany's signature, or should be maintained integrally, and on this the widest divergence has arisen. Lloyd George is for modifications, and has the whole British cabinet behind him. Clemenceau is against modifications, and has the whole French cabinet behind him. The President's attitude is uncertain, as between the two extremes. His position was summed up thus: first, to prevent a split among the Allies and to hold them firmly together; and second, to secure an early peace. He is not disposed to make modifications which will "soften" the peace, but is ready to accept changes that make the terms more workable. But all this must be done at once if the waiting German delegates are to receive an answer, and the answering is a huge task, with many divergent minds to be reconciled. The outlook is not promising, and the tension in Conference circles is increasing.

* * *

June 4. This has been an anxious day, with both the German and Austrian treaties in the balance, and the Conference making every effort to secure early and united action. The Council of Four first took up the Austrian

treaty, trying to complete the military and reparation terms omitted from the treaty delivered Monday. Then they turned to the German counter-project, called in the experts, and sought to shape a policy.

Out of it all certain general results have taken form, namely, that the German counter-proposal as a whole will be rejected, but some of its suggestions will be incorporated in the Allied treaty, not to "soften" the document, but to accomplish the supreme end of getting it signed and restoring peace. Also certain concrete results are taking form, viz.: the Polish-Silesian boundary will be modified (the boundary laid down in the Allied Treaty has created an intense outburst in Germany), the people in that locality will be given the right of self determination by a plebiscite. The Saar Valley provisions will be modified, but the political status will remain with the League of Nations in control, and a plebiscite after fifteen years. Reparations will be made definite in amount. The British and Americans are agreed on admitting Germany to the League of Nations, but the French are still bolding out.

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June 5. The anxiety was somewhat relieved tonight when Colonel House took a hopeful view of the outlook. Yet, a short time afterwards, the President said: "I wish I could take an optimistic view, but I can't, for there is nothing in the situation to warrant it."

Paderewski was with the Council of Four, making an energetic protest against the proposed modification of the Silesian boundary. He is for a strong Poland, and France is behind him, for France wants a strong power on Germany's eastern flank.

Following Paderewski, the Roumanians and Serbians were on hand with protests against having their military strength limited, as is proposed, Roumania to 50,000 men, Czecho-slovakia, 50,000, Poland, 80,000, and Jugoslavia to 50,000. There is a chorus of protest that this is another invasion of their sovereignty.

* * *

June 6. The President sent word tonight that the situation was a shade better. And yet the Austrians had made known that they are as much opposed to their treaty as the Germans are to the German treaty. This makes two major controversies, and a host of minor ones.

The Italians, weary of the impasse on the Adriatic issue, have now asked for a settlement before the Italian parliament meets on the 18th. The indications are they will lose on most of their contentions and that a permanent wound will be opened.

* * *

June 7. The exclusion of Germany from the League of Nations has been definitely modified and she will be admitted on equal terms after a brief period of probation. The league committee met at Colonel House's quarters this afternoon to consider the German counter-proposal as to the League. The main proposal was that Germany be admitted, and this was unanimously agreed to with certain conditions.

"Even Portugal voted for it," said Colonel House, "and all the others — Cecil, Imperiali, and myself. I judge this removes one of the main causes of controversy."

* * *

June 12. An agreement has finally been reached on the

reply that is to be made to Germany on their counter-proposal. As the negotiations have tended that way for several days past, Colonel House decided to leave for London and begin work there on starting the League of Nations, as a going organization, subject, of course, to final agreement on the Treaty and the necessary ratifications. This marks the beginning of the end of the Conference. The President came to have a long conference with the Colonel last night, going over such affairs as remain to be settled. The Colonel will return in a week, for the final signing of the Treaty, or for a break. But his work here is practically closed, and when the President leaves, Lansing will be left in charge, with White and Bliss, as Colonel House will remain in London launching the League of Nations.

André Tardieu called at American headquarters just before Colonel House left tonight, to report that the agreement was complete on all points of reply to Germany. After the prolonged deadlock, which has caused much anxiety, the agreement is a great relief. The agreement on admitting Germany to the League of Nations follows the plan drawn up by Lord Robert Cecil and Colonel House, omitting only one condition which required Germany to abandon compulsory military service. Clemenceau did not want this specifically stated, as it would bring up the question of the French also abandoning compulsory military service.

* * *

With the leaving of Colonel House tonight, it is being noted that the President has made a new departure lately by paying his visit to the American delegation collectively,

in Mr. Lansing's office instead of Colonel House's quarters. Also it is noted that when the President returns to America Mr. Lansing will be left in charge. This is a decided departure from the former régime by which kings, envoys and premiers turned to Colonel House as intermediary with the President.

Under the new system the President goes directly to Mr. Lansing's quarters on the first floor of the Crillon, where all the American delegates assemble, often with the experts and technical delegates, so that there is a somewhat representative gathering of the entire American forces, and a discussion in which all are heard. This has come rather late, and the technical people are rather surprised they have not been consulted more before.

* * *

June 13. Another effort has been made to solve the Russian problem, by recognizing the government of Admiral Kolchak. A letter signed by the President, Clemenceau, and others of the Council, states that the assurances given by Kolchak meet the requirements that had been submitted to him, and that the Allies and associated governments will carry out their purpose of furnishing him supplies, food, and munition, etc. This by not specifying recognition, is designed to accomplish it, and yet to leave open a line of retreat if Kolchak is defeated by the Bolshevists.

* * *

June 14. The Council of Four—it is now Four, as Orlando has gone to Rome—is putting the final touches on a reply to Germany's counter-proposal. It will be delivered on Monday, with five days of grace within which

Germany must decide one way or the other, to sign the Treaty or to reject it. This gives until Saturday, June 21, for final decision on signing or renewing the war. The Allied armies are ready to move, and thousands of army camions are at the Rhine bridgeheads ready for a forward spring of 130 miles within three days of the time that war is renewed. But the indications are growing that Germany will at last reluctantly sign, either through the present cabinet or a new one with Erzberger at its head.

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June 15. One of the American financial advisers took issue today with a statement made in the American Senate that there was a strong feeling in Europe against repaying the advances made by the United States to European countries.

"The American financial advisers have never for a moment approved such an idea," he said. "It would make the American taxpayer bear the burden of these billions owed by Europe, and would relieve Europe from hard work when her salvation depends on going to work and producing.

"When M. Klotz, the French finance minister, once intimated to me that they wished a 're-distribution' of the war debt, I said to him:

" 'If you really mean that, I must cable to the Secretary of the Treasury to stop all further advances to Europe until this plan of re-distribution is settled.'

"He did not press the matter. Later M. Puech, chairman of the budget committee of the Chamber of Deputies, said to me:

" 'If the United States does not guarantee Germany's

debt to France, we will have a revolution in France.'

"To which I replied to him:

" 'And if the United States *does* guarantee Germany's debt to France, we will have a revolution in the United States.'

"I have not heard anything since of the proposal for the United States to guarantee these debts."

* * *

June 16. The Allied reply to the German counter-proposal was finally delivered to the German delegation at Varsailles at 6:45 this evening, and at ten o'clock Brockdorff-Rantzau left with the revised Treaty for Weimar. The reply as first delivered gave a time limit of five days. Herr Simon, Secretary of the Delegation, who received the document, at once said that the five days would not be sufficient to make the railway journey to Weimar and back to Versailles, and give anything like time enough to consider such a momentous document. Thereupon, after hasty telephonic exchange between Clemenceau, Lloyd George, and the President, two additional days were granted. The time limitation of the Allies therefore runs until Monday evening, June 23, at 6:45 P. M., and this is an ultimatum.

As Brockdorff-Rantzau and the others of his party were leaving Versailles for Germany, a hostile demonstration occurred along the route leading to the suburban railway station. Stones were thrown, and two of the party, Herr Theodor Melchior, head of the finance commission, and Frau Dorlblush, one of the secretaries of the delegation, were struck on the head by stones.

* * *

The reply of the Allies is accompanied by a letter from Clemenceau, which is quite as caustic as the letter of Brockdorff-Rantzau in submitting the German project. Clemenceau says:

"The protest of the German delegation shows they fail to understand the position in which Germany stands today. They seem to think that Germany has only to 'make sacrifices' in order to obtain peace, as though this were but the end of some mere struggle for territory and power. It is therefore necessary to begin this reply by a clear statement of the judgment of the war which has been formed by practically the whole of civilized mankind. In the view of the Allied and associated powers, the war begun on August 1, 1914, was the greatest crime against humanity and the freedom of peoples that any nation calling itself civilized has ever consciously committed."

After reviewing the growth of Prussian militarism and the struggle for a position of dominance in Europe, Clemenceau adds:

"Justice is what the German delegation asks for, and says that Germany has been promised. But it must be justice for all. There must be justice for the dead and wounded and for those who have been orphaned and bereaved, that Europe might be free from Prussian despotism. There must be justice for the people who now stagger under war debts which exceed thirty billion pounds, that Liberty might be saved. There must be justice for those millions whose homes and land, ships and property, German savagery has spoliated and destroyed."

After setting forth the modifications proposed, Clemenceau adds that they "constitute the last word."

"As such," he concludes, "the treaty in its present form must be accepted or rejected. The allied and associated powers require a declaration from the German delegation within seven days as to whether they are prepared to sign this treaty as now amended. If they declare within that period that they are prepared to sign the treaty as it stands, arrangements will be made for the immediate signature of the peace at Versailles. In default of such a declaration, this communication constitutes the notification that the armistice will terminate and that the allied and associated powers will take such steps as they think needful to enforce their terms."

* * *

June 17. As soon as Clemenceau heard of the hostile demonstration against the Brockdorff-Rantzau party last night, he sent Brockdorff a letter of apology and regret.

"I hasten to express my deepest regrets," he said, "for such condemnable and unfortunate acts contrary to the laws of hospitality. These manifestations have been possible only through the absence of a certain number of functionaries and police. The Prefet of Seine-et-Oise will present his apologies in person to Herr Von Haniel, and will be relieved of his functions, as well as the commissary of police, for not having taken the measures of order which were incumbent on them."

* * *

June 18. Marshal Foch has made a tour of the Rhine frontier to see that all is ready for the advance at 6:45 next Monday night, should the Germans refuse to sign the Treaty. He has visited the British, American and French headquarters at Cologne, Coblenz, and Mayence, and has

given orders for a movement of the troops in large army auto buses of about forty-five miles a day for three consecutive days. But while there is general anxiety over the possible resumption of war, yet those best posted believe that the Germans will yield.

The President and Mrs. Wilson have gone to Belgium to see the battlefields and pay the long deferred visit to King Albert and Queen Elizabeth. They were met by the royal couple at Aldekerke, who conducted them in autos through the wreckage of Ypres and Louvain and over some of the great battlegrounds.

* * *

June 19. The President arrived at Brussels this morning, where with Mrs. Wilson he was the guest of the King and Queen at the royal palace. He made no less than four speeches during the day, some of them significant, one of them sounding a challenge to the American Senate on the League of Nations.

"The League of Nations is the child of this great war for right," he said as he spoke before the Belgian Chamber of Deputies. "It is the expression of those permanent resolutions which grew out of the temporary necessities of this great struggle, and any nation which declines to adhere to this Covenant turns away from the most telling appeal that has ever been made to its conscience and its manhood."

CHAPTER XXXIII

GERMANY'S UNCONDITIONAL SURRENDER—THE PRESIDENT'S PLANS

June 20. The Scheidemann ministry has fallen with a crash, and with it has crumbled the last resistance Germany was capable of making. Scheidemann represented the irreconcilable and uncompromising opponents of the Peace Treaty as now presented, and he was for out and out rejection of it. But his strength has gradually fallen away from him; the German people are war-weary and they look with apprehension at the possible sweep of the British, American and French armies across Germany beginning next Monday night. And so Scheidemann and all his colleagues who were against signing the Treaty have been swept out of power, and a new set of men favorable to signing the Treaty is being chosen.

The first word from Weimar reached here early today over the American military wire from Coblenz, and General Nolan, chief of military intelligence on General Pershing's staff, summarized the facts as follows:

"The fall of the Scheidemann ministry is confirmed. Four members of the ministry, including Noske, the minister of war, have voted for signing the Treaty. This made Scheidemann's position untenable with a divided cabinet, and his fall became inevitable. One report is that Noske will form the new ministry but this is not yet confirmed. A

majority of the assembly is now clearly favorable to signing the treaty."

Scheidemann's fall is accepted by the Peace Conference as the end of opposition to the Treaty, which will now be signed, only the details of re-adjusting Germany's ministerial crisis remaining.

The President, back from Belgium, joined the American delegates at the Crillon at noon. The news of Scheidemann's fall was discussed with great satisfaction. The delegation's plans after the signing of the Treaty and the departure of the President were settled. Lansing will be in charge and Colonel House will be in London. The President has arranged to leave next Tuesday night immediately following the signing of the Treaty.

* * *

June 21. Now that the German ministry has fallen, all attention is turned to who will be chosen in succession, and who will be named to sign the Treaty. The American delegates received a report late this afternoon indicating a David cabinet, with Bernstorff succeeding Brockdorff-Rantzau as minister of foreign affairs. But a little later the situation changed and a ministry was formed with Dr. Bauer as chancellor, Mueller as foreign minister, and Noske as minister of defence. The new cabinet promptly took steps to gain more time, and tonight Clemenceau received from Herr Haniel von Haimhausen, temporary head of the delegation at Versailles, a communication in the name of the new chancellor, Bauer. It stated that the German government was ready to engage to fulfill the conditions of peace imposed upon Germany. But it felt

bound to announce that it did so making all reservations and declining all responsibility as regards consequences. The Government accordingly gave its consent as required by the note of June 16 in the following form:

"The Government of the German Republic is ready to sign the Treaty of Peace, without, however, recognizing thereby that the German people was the author of the war, and without undertaking any responsibility for delivering persons in accordance with Articles 227 to 230 of the Treaty of Peace."

Clemenceau's answer was immediate and was a peremptory refusal.

"The note of the German delegation presents no argument or consideration not already examined," he said. "The allied and associated governments therefore feel constrained to say that the time for discussion is past. They can accept or acknowledge no qualification or reservation. and must require of the German representatives an unequivocal decision as to their purposes to sign and accept as a whole, or not to sign and accept, the Treaty as finally formulated."

* * *

June 23. After twenty-four hours of delay, Germany has yielded unconditionally, agreeing to accept and sign the Peace Treaty in its present form. The boom of cannon from the Invalides and the scream of sirens announced this result to the populace of Paris at seven o'clock tonight. It had been preceded by an exchange of three sharp and decisive notes, in which Germany made a last desperate effort to gain time, and the Allies responded with a stern and final refusal.

Von Haimhausen's first note, delivered before daylight as a result of his long-distance talks with Weimar, asked that the time limit be extended for forty-eight hours beyond the limit already fixed of next Monday night at 6:45 P. M. He said this additional two days was indispensable in order to permit the new cabinet to come into contact with the national assembly, so that they could together "make the grievous decision."

Clemenceau, Lloyd George and the President were awakened at three o'clock in the morning for the delivery of this last appeal. But as they did not wish to pass upon it at such an hour, it was arranged that the Council of Four should meet during the morning. The reply was then framed. Clemenceau sent it, and it is brief and to the point.

"After full consideration of your request," he said, "the allied and associated governments regret that it is not possible to extend the time already granted to your Excellency to make known your decision relative to the signature of the treaty without any reservations."

There was another long-distance communication between von Haimhausen and the government at Weimar, and late this afternoon he received the final instructions to accept the treaty unconditionally. His final note says:

"The minister of Foreign Affairs has instructed me to communicate to your Excellency the following:

"It appears to the government of the German Republic, in consternation at the last communication of the allied and associated governments, that these governments have decided to wrest from Germany by force acceptance of the

peace conditions, even those which, without presenting any material significance, aim at divesting the German people of their honor.

"No act of violence can touch the honor of the German people. The German people after frightful suffering in these last years, have no means of defending themselves by external action.

"Yielding therefore to superior force, and without renouncing in the meantime its own view of the unheard-of injustice of the peace conditions, the government of the German Republic declares that it is ready to accept and sign the peace conditions imposed upon it.

"Please accept, Mr. President, the assurances of my high consideration."

* * *

June 24. The President had planned to leave tonight and sail for home tomorrow, with the treaty signed. All preparations for departure had been made. But all this has been changed, for the Germans, apparently stung and dazed by their misfortune, give no sign of sending plenipotentiaries with power to sign the treaty. There have been vague reports all day that the Bauer Cabinet has fallen; other reports are that plenipotentiaries are on the way—but there is nothing certain and the President's departure is indefinitely delayed.

Apparently the Germans do not intend to contribute éclat to the ceremony of signing. Von Haimhausen, who is of secondary rank, has received plenipotentiary power enabling him to sign. But he declines this humiliating office, and no one appears willing to accept it. The French are making elaborate preparations for a grand ceremony in

the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles, where the German Empire was proclaimed and where Thiers signed the conditions which Germany wrung from France after the War of '70. But still there is no German ready to sign, and with the guests assembled, the banquet waits.

* * *

June 25. There has been no word all day as to what Germany intends to do. The government has agreed to sign, but can find no one to accept the odium of signing. Colonel House returned from London to attend the ceremony of signing, but there is no ceremony to attend. The Colonel sent an officer to the foreign office to learn the situation, and he returned with this report:

"The signing cannot be before two days from the present time—not before Friday at two P. M.—and it may not be then. There is no word that the Germans have appointed a delegation, and no word of a delegation starting. Everything is in the air."

The President and Clemenceau went to Versailles this afternoon, arranging for the ceremony of signing, but nothing could be fixed definitely. There is talk of another ultimatum, fixing a time limit within which authorized delegates shall appear and carry out the signing. But suppose the Germans, with their morale utterly broken, remain silent and ignore the ultimatum? Is the war to begin again? There is no desire to precipitate such an eventuality. Reports from Weimar say the national assembly was in tears when the decision to sign was taken.

Von Haimhausen was notified late this evening that the names of the German plenipotentiaries must be known by

three o'clock tomorrow. The intimation is there will be an ultimatum then.

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June 26. Still no definite word as to the German plenipotentiaries. But at noon von Haimhausen told Dutasta that he felt quite certain Herman Mueller, the new Socialist foreign minister, and Herr Bell, the minister of communications, would consent to come and sign the treaty. The anxiety here is so great to bring things to a close that this assurance suffices, and the ceremony of signing has been fixed for three o'clock tomorrow, in the historic Hall of Mirrors at Versailles. But will they come? And if they come and sign, will Germany ratify the treaty, for it has now been discovered that after the signing must come the ratification.

The President was the guest of honor of President Poincaré at a gala dinner at the Elysée Palace tonight—the last dinner before Germany signs the treaty and joins the circle of friendly powers. Poincaré toasted the "continued solidarity" of the Allies, and in reply President Wilson said:

"I feel I have taken part in one of the most important events of history, when for the first time the nations of the world have bound themselves together permanently for the common good. Not only has an erring nation been vanquished, but a warning has been given to all nations that similar wrongdoing will be similarly dealt with."

* * *

June 27. The German envoys, Mueller and Bell, arrived this morning at Versailles. The signing of the treaty has gone over till tomorrow at three P. M. The President

will leave immediately after the signing for Brest, and will sail the next day for home, thus ending this memorable pilgrimage to Europe.

The President talked quite freely this afternoon, summing up the work of the Peace Conference. He was evidently well pleased with the favorable turn of affairs and looked well and smiling, with little trace of fatigue from the strain he has been under of late. He talked for a full hour, a remarkably straight and open talk on all the phases of the Conference. First he answered a question as to an American mandate in Turkey.

"I have made no promise as to an American mandate in Turkey," he said, "as I have no right to promise anything of that kind. The most that could be done has been to say that the question of an American mandate will be presented to our people at home and it will be for them to decide.

"As to a mandate for Armenia," continued the President, "I am inclined to think that our people would consider it favorably, for they have always shown much interest in Armenia. But after all, that is only my personal opinion, and it will be for the people to decide what will be done."

"And how about Constantinople?" the President was asked.

"It is the same with Constantinople as with Armenia. The people at home will decide. I have felt there would be a certain advantage in our being at Constantinople, in that it would keep it out of European politics. With any other power there, questions of self-interest would be raised. But everyone recognizes that we are completely disinterested as to Turkey, so that if we took the mandate

for Constantinople it would be completely removed from the field of European politics. And it would be a job worth the doing," pursued the President with a glow of enthusiasm, "it would be something on a large scale, for the benefit of the whole world, like the building of the Panama Canal—and besides administering Constantinople, the task would be to keep open the Strait as an international highway, with a free route to and from the Black Sea for the commerce of the world."

"It is understood, Mr. President, that you will make a tour of America on your return, and address the people?"

"Yes, I have thought it would be well to make a tour and try to explain what has been accomplished here at the Peace Conference. What is needed most of all is a thorough understanding of what has been done, and it needs explanation rather than argument. There has been too much misunderstanding, to use a very mild word, and the effect of it has been that our people at home have not been able to see clearly what has happened here in its true light, and they have seen some things in a distorted light."

"How far will you go—as far as the Pacific Coast?"

"I will go to the limit," answered the President.

"Are there reasons, Mr. President, why the Senate should ratify the Peace Treaty without amendments?"

"There are very important reasons why that should be done. In the first place, if any power seeks to make amendments, then the war is not over until every one of the twenty-one Allied nations learns the result of the changes and decides whether they will be accepted. The only way I know of to do this is by negotiation back and

forth between these twenty-one powers. It would be a hopeless process of delay. It would keep us out of the Treaty and out of the League of Nations."

"If the Senate ratified with reservations, as has been proposed, would the reservations be the same as amendments?"

"That would depend on the terms of the reservations. But in general reservations are much the same as amendments. And certainly the proposed Root reservation to Article X of the Covenant of the League of Nations would be an amendment, for it destroys the entire meaning of the Article."

"And what do you think of Senator Fall's amendment, declaring the war between the United States and Germany at an end, and for a separate treaty of peace with Germany?"

The President's face took on a very stern look. He did not answer at once, and seemed to be choosing his words of criticism. Finally he said:

"My God, that Fall resolution would be a disgrace. It would put on us a contempt that no nation has ever suffered. It would make us the ally of Germany. No, this Fall resolution, I do not believe a handful of people in America would support such a disgraceful measure."

"It is difficult for me to avoid profanity in referring to that resolution," the President went on after a pause. "It makes me feel like the man with the sand wagon. You remember the story. He was going up hill with a load of sand, when some mischievous boys took out the tail board of the cart so that all the sand ran out. Reaching the top of the hill, and turning to find that his load of sand had

run out, he said: 'Well, there ain't no words to express my feelings on that job.' And that is the way I feel as to the Fall resolution—there simply ain't no words to express my feelings on that job."

The conversation turned to the length of the Peace Conference.

"With everyone in the Conference having pretty positive views," said the President, "it naturally took time to mould all these strong contentions into something like a co-ordinate and harmonious whole. The result of a long discussion is usually much better than a short one in bringing about an understanding, particularly when the interests involved are very great and the differences in view sharply defined as they were in this Conference. But after all, the length of this Conference has not been great—six months—as compared with the Vienna Congress, and when one considers the vastness of the world problems brought here for settlement, for we have been engaged practically in making over the whole world.

"I have been very proud during this work that the views of our American experts usually prevailed. It was probably because America had no selfish interests to serve, and our experts approached every subject without the prejudice of self-interest and with the sole desire to reach a just decision. They brought to every discussion something more than full and well ordered information. Of course they had that, but others had that also. But the one thing which was preeminently theirs in all this play of divergent interests was the complete disinterestedness of America. That gave them a voice of sincerity and authority, and it was the reason, I believe, why the voice of

our American experts usually prevailed in the adjustment of the many difficult issues."

The President was asked if the influence of any "interests" had been made manifest during the Conference. This led him to relate an incident which occurred when Mesopotamia was under consideration in the Council of Four. It was disclosed during the discussions that one of the big oil concerns was much interested in a certain provision. Lloyd George thereupon suggested that if the oil interest was involved, the provision had better go out.

"And out it went," said the President, indicating that the mere mention of a selfish interest had been sufficient to prejudice a proposition.

"Has the influence of the banking interests—high finance—been felt to any extent?" the President was asked.

"Not to any appreciable extent, and I am bound to say that very little of that influence has had a sinister aspect. The governments have in fact received a great deal of help from some of these banking interests, particularly the American."

At this point, the undertaking of the United States and Great Britain to come to the help of France with military force, came up and was explained in detail by the President. It was considerately referred to as an "undertaking," as the President did not like the word "alliance." And yet, at first, he was in doubt as to what was meant by the inquiry on the "undertaking."

"Oh, yes, the French agreement," he said at last. "Ah, yes, that is the undertaking, and I suppose we are the undertakers."

The President smiled grimly at this identification of the undertaking, and then he said:

"The point is this. The British view and the American view was that the League of Nations gave France abundant protection against Germany. For if there was any real danger from Germany it would probably not be within the next few years, while Germany is prostrate and disarmed, but after a certain lapse of time, by which time the League would have proved itself an effective instrumentality for preserving the peace of the world. But France did not see it that way. France has been under the spell of the German menace so many years that it is simply beyond the French comprehension that anything can ever check this menace in the slightest degree. While we did not share that view, yet we had to recognize it was a natural view for France, placed as she has been. And so we yielded in a certain measure, to meet this French viewpoint. Yet all we pledged to France in this undertaking is that we will not wait in coming to their assistance. All beyond that was already provided in the Covenant of the League of Nations. In that, you will remember, the Council of the League puts in motion the measures for coming to the relief of a power threatened or attacked by a covenant-breaking power. But that would take time, and the threatened nation would have to wait. So we agreed to go a step further—to come to the assistance of France without waiting.

"This is the form it will take in a treaty, to be submitted to the Senate. If the Treaty is ready, I will sign it before leaving; if not, I will authorize Secretary Lansing to sign it."

The Kiau Chau question and the knotty Japanese problem was next brought to the President's attention, and he said:

"I will tell you some of the inside facts which show how that question was very difficult to handle. At the outset it developed that Japan and Great Britain had made an agreement that Japan was to have what Germany previously possessed in Shantung. Then Japan made an agreement with China, conditioned on China's recognizing the twenty-one demands made by Japan.

"When the subject came before the Council, Japan was ready to cede back to China all the rights in Kiau Chau except in the foreign residential district. Japan agreed to withdraw also from all administration in Shantung. It is to be noted, also, that we have not recognized the twenty-one points contained in Japan's demands on China, which are the conditions on which Kiau Chau is to be returned by Japan to China."

The President referred with satisfaction to what was being done to protect the rights of minorities, and the establishment of an international tribunal, which would have jurisdiction over all questions affecting minorities and their racial, educational and religious rights. He spoke in passing, also, of Ireland, saying: "It presents new phases every day and I am much confused by it."

Taking up the objections made to the League Covenant on the ground that England with her colonies had six votes to America's one vote, the President disposed of them in this way:

"The real guide as to the voting strength is in the Council of the League, and not the Assembly. The Assembly meets

only occasionally, but the Council is the executive body always ready to act and with suitable powers of action. Now while the British colonies have a voice in the Assembly —the consultative body which occasionally meets—yet they are not represented on the Council, except through the one vote of the home government. In the Council of nine members, the United States has the same voice as Great Britain, and each of the other Great Powers, and of four Smaller Powers. There can be no question, therefore, of having six British votes arrayed against us in the most vital organ of the League—the organ which is the directive force of the whole structure—as there is complete equality of vote in that body."

The President had thus far spoken of the detailed work of the Conference, but now, turning to the general results, he summed them up thus:

"I am more than satisfied with the net results, and all things considered, I think a wonderful success has been achieved. It is a pretty tough peace for Germany, to be sure. But Germany did great wrong and it is quite natural and just that she should make full reparation for that great wrong. But aside from Germany, consider what we have accomplished here: we have liberated peoples that never had a chance of liberty before—Poles, Jugoslavs, Czecho-slavs. Then we have banded together the peoples of the world to see that what is done shall stay done. We have given a charter to labor. We have established a new colonial system in which the development of the native population is the dominant purpose instead of colonial exploitation. We have removed the petty restrictions and barriers on international commerce, making the great

waterways and highways neutral and open to all without restriction or discrimination. These are only a few of the really great results we have been able to accomplish. There are many others."

And then with impressive earnestness the President added:

"It is a colossal business, such as the world has never dreamed of before."

Returning to some of the specific questions which had arisen, the President said the blockade on Germany would be raised as soon as Germany ratified the Treaty. But until Germany showed her good faith by ratifying, the blockade would remain in force, and this would be made known to Germany in a letter delivered to the German plenipotentiaries at the time they signed the Treaty.

"I think Germany will carry out the Treaty substantially," said the President in reply to a question which implied that Germany would first sign the Treaty and then systematically avoid it.

Referring to the conclusion of the work, the President said:

"It's a long job that I'm glad to see finished. And it's a good job."

The Fourteen Points were here brought up for the first time, and the President said:

"I think the Treaty adheres to the Fourteen Points more closely than I had a right to expect, in view of the difficulties which arose and the great number of divergent views which had to be reconciled. The Fourteen Points were the guiding principle throughout and their spirit entered into pretty much everything that was done."

When the President was asked why Mexico and Costa Rica were not in the League of Nations, he said:

"That is their own affair; those governments have got to find themselves."

He dismissed the matter with that, and then turning to the opposition to the Peace Treaty in the American Senate, he said:

"I have absolute confidence in the judgment of the American people, and when they fully understand the facts, I rely confidently on their support. There has been so much misrepresentation that their judgment has been clouded. But once the people understand the facts, their judgment will be, in my opinon, swift and conclusive, and I feel absolutely confident it will approve the work we have done here."

With this the talk closed and the President withdrew. But a little later he again referred to the Treaty and its ratification, and said:

"Aside from the unwisdom of the Senate's changing the Treaty, there is the further question of the Senate's right to change the Treaty, or to make any amendments or reservations equivalent to a change. The Constitution gives the treaty making power specifically to the executive. The Senate is to advise and consent as to treaties, but that does not mean it is to participate in the actual making of the Treaty, which is distinctly an executive function. Their right to consent to the Treaty as it stands, or withhold consent, is absolute. But if they go beyond that, and undertake to change the Treaty, then the executive can reject such action as exceeding the Senate's prerogative, and entering upon that of the executive.

"It would be well for the Senate to keep to its own proper functions, and leave the executive to his functions," added the President, smiling, as it recalled to him this incident:

"There was a place in Virginia where they had a lot of hens, and two big roosters in the midst of the hens. The roosters had fought each other until one of them had no tail feathers left, and the other had just one solitary tail feather remaining. But with all their fighting, neither of the roosters had been able to establish dominion over the place, and so they decided on a truce. There was a brick walk running through the middle of the yard, dividing it into two sides. By common consent one of the roosters took one side of the brick walk, and the other rooster took the other side of the walk. Each was supreme on his side of the walk. But if either of them ventured on the dividing line or across the line, then there was war."

* * *

With the Peace Treaty, the League Covenant, and an Alliance about to be realized, one can see that this day-to-day chronicle which has been set down during the past seven months is, in a sense, a continued story, with a very definite unity running through these daily fragments, which, together, are the passing scenes of this huge international drama now reaching its climax in the scene set for tomorrow.

CHAPTER XXXIV

VERSAILLES—SIGNING THE PEACE TREATY—THE PILGRIMS DEPART

June 28. With impressive ceremony the German peace treaty was signed at three o'clock this afternoon in the historic Hall of Mirrors at the Palace of Versailles. A salvo of cannon in the Place des Armes boomed out their salute as the final act in the great drama of war and peace was concluded, and the echoing cannonade was taken up by the forts of Mount Valerian and passed on to Paris until the whole country hereabouts reverberated with rejoicing that peace had at last come. Immediately following the ceremony, President Wilson said his final adieus, and at nine forty-five o'clock tonight left on his special train for Brest, where he sails for home tomorrow.

It was a striking scene within the Hall of Mirrors as the curtain came down on the final act. In the center of the great gilded chamber on a table lay a large seal-bound volume—the Peace Treaty—about to be signed; and around this center clustered the representatives of practically the whole civilized world. The delegates sat at a long table, which swung crescent-like around the smaller table on which reposed the Treaty. Again the President, Clemenceau and Lloyd George formed the striking group of the picture. They were at the further side, Clemenceau presiding, in the middle, with Mr. Wilson on his right,

Lloyd George on his left. Immediately facing them sat the two German plenipotentiaries, Dr. Mueller and Herr Bell, the former a full-bearded Teutonic type, the latter thin-faced and meager. They spoke together and seemed isolated from the rest of the stirring company. In the embrasures of the windows stood at attention a guard of honor of American soldiers and sailors.

Back of the delegates, on either side, were ranged the ambassadors, generals and admirals of many countries. Marshal Foch was the center of a notable group. General Pershing, wearing a brilliant scarlet sash of the Legion of Honor across the breast of his military tunic, stood out in the midst of another group of generals. Most of the diplomatists were in plain civilian garb with a notable absence of gold lace and embroidery. Back of these distinguished personalities were ranged long lines of French cuirassiers in their gleaming silver helmets with flowing black plumes. Nearby stood another notable group of grizzled French veterans of the Franco-German war of '70, viewing with grim satisfaction this reverse of fortune which had come to France and Germany, for in this same hall forty-eight years ago Germany had humiliated France and had proclaimed the German Empire.

As the eye swept around the circle of delegates, there was one gap which stood out boldly, breaking the continuity. It was the place reserved for the Chinese delegates. But no Chinese delegates had appeared, and as the hour advanced a buzz of excited comment—"Shantung"—was heard among the delegates. The gap continued open, and soon word passed through the hall that the Chinese had held

a meeting at noon, and in tears had decided not to affix the signature of China to the Treaty.

There was a hum of expectancy as the moment arrived for the signing, and through the windows came the sound of surging thousands waiting impatiently on the terraces outside. Clemenceau arose as the German delegates, the last to enter, spread their portfolios before them. He was brief and dry.

"The session is open," he said. "You have before you, gentlemen, the Peace Treaty which I have duly authenticated as identical with the document delivered to the German delegation. The signatures will be given now and they amount to a solemn undertaking faithfully and loyally to execute the conditions embodied by this treaty of peace. I now invite the delegates of the German Reich to sign the Treaty."

As the two German plenipotentiaries moved forward, they were conducted to the signing table by M. Martin of the French foreign office. Every eye was riveted on them and there was an awe-like silence as the two Germans bent forward and signed the document. They did not hesitate, and there was a directness and dignity in their action even at the moment of their humiliation.

President Wilson and the American delegates were the next to sign: and then came Lloyd George, Balfour, and the other British imperial and colonial delegates; and then France, Italy, Japan, and the lesser powers. It was a long and tedious process, with a line of delegates waiting to affix their signatures to the Treaty.

In all, four instruments were signed, namely: first, the

German peace treaty; second, a protocol covering a number of details not in the Treaty but adopted in the exchange of letters; third, a treaty with Poland in which the rights of minorities were guaranteed; fourth, a protocol covering civil administration in the occupied districts on the Rhine. Besides this, the Franco-American and Anglo-French undertaking by which the United States and Great Britain agreed to come to the aid of France on any unprovoked attack by Germany, were duly signed by the three parties in interest.

As the signing drew to a close a murmur arose as General Jan Smuts made his way to the front with a written protest against the Treaty. Such a protest, at such a moment, from one of the British colonial delegates who had been foremost in the negotiations, particularly in drafting the League Covenant, excited the liveliest interest.

"I look upon the Peace Treaty," said the protest of General Smuts, "as the close of the two chapters of war and Armistice, and only on that ground do I agree to it. I say this not in criticism, not because I wish to find fault with the work done, but rather because I feel that in this Treaty we have not yet achieved the real peace to which our peoples were looking. There are numerous pinpricks remaining, which will cease to pain under the healing influence of a new international atmosphere. A real peace of peoples ought to follow, complete, and amend this peace of statesmen in this Treaty."

With the signing of the Treaty the "boom" "boom" of guns came through the open windows mingled with the tumultuous shouts of the multitude massed in the court of the Palace. Then occurred a stirring incident, with the

President, Clemenceau and Lloyd George the center of a frenzied demonstration. The three statesmen had left the Hall of Mirrors and were proceeding together to the terrace, to view the magnificent fountains which for the first time since the war gushed forth like huge geysers on the signal that peace had come. As the three appeared on the terrace they were recognized by the crowd as the embodiment of the new-made peace, and with a rush they were carried off their feet and born along the terrace by the shouting crowd. They managed to keep together, and after a time were rescued by the guards, and entering a car, they left together for Paris amid the demonstration of the crowd.

* * *

At nine forty-five o'clock tonight the Gare des Invalides was filled with people waiting to get a final glimpse of the President as he started for home. President Poincaré was there, with Clemenceau and the entire cabinet, with many generals and members of the diplomatic corps. A scarlet carpet had been laid along the depot platform, with palms on either side, making an avenue through which the presidential party moved toward their train. The President looked happy over the close of his work. President Poincaré bade him a cordial adieu, and Clemenceau accompanied him to the steps of the car. As the President stepped aboard, the two leaders grasped hands cordially and Clemenceau said with some evidence of emotion:

"I feel as though I were losing one of the best friends I ever had."

The President smiled back his acknowledgment, and

seemed to reciprocate the cordiality thoroughly. It was a study as these two chief figures of the Peace Conference exchanged their endearing farewells, each having won his point: one his Covenant, the other his Alliance, those two instruments so diametrically opposed to each other, which, strangely enough, are the two chief works of the Peace Conference.

* * *

June 29. The little seaport of Brest is again in commotion, for President Wilson is here on his way home. The Presidential train has just moved into the city, passing through endless lines of American soldiers standing at attention along the tracks. Great crowds are surging again, and there is the added excitement of a Socialist demonstration and procession, for Brittany is the stronghold of French Socialism.

The train does not come to the railway station, but is switched to the water's edge, so that the President steps from his car to the naval launch ready to take him aboard the steamer *George Washington* lying out in the harbor. There are the last hasty adieus from French ministers and officials, the shouts of "Vive Wilson," and then the launch moves out from under the frowning fortress to the anchorage of the fleet.

I am standing again on the high terrace of Brest overlooking the splendid panorama of the roadstead, at the same spot from which the arrival of the President was witnessed on that memorable Friday of December 13 last, hardly more than seven months ago. Great events have happened since then, and we have followed them step by step and day by day, viewing them at close range as great

policies and projects took form and the great drama of war and peace came to a close.

Out in the harbor there is the same stirring scene as when the President arrived: warships, merchantmen, fishing craft, all with their colors flying. The big superdreadnaught, *Oklahoma,* is puffing masses of black smoke, and the American destroyers have broken out their long homeward-bound pennants. There is the creak of anchor chains as the battleship points out to the ribbon of water leading to the open sea. The *George Washington* swings in astern of the *Oklahoma,* and then the destroyers and French escorting warships, all heading westward. The guns of the fortress begin to roar, answered gun for gun by the warships. "Good-bye, Vive Wilson," echoes over the water.

The President was standing on the bridge of the steamer as she moved out between the headlands, with the land batteries on the heights flashing their parting salvos. He was standing there, taking his last look at Europe, as the ships were lost to sight in the haze and the Presidential pilgrimage came to an end.

THE END